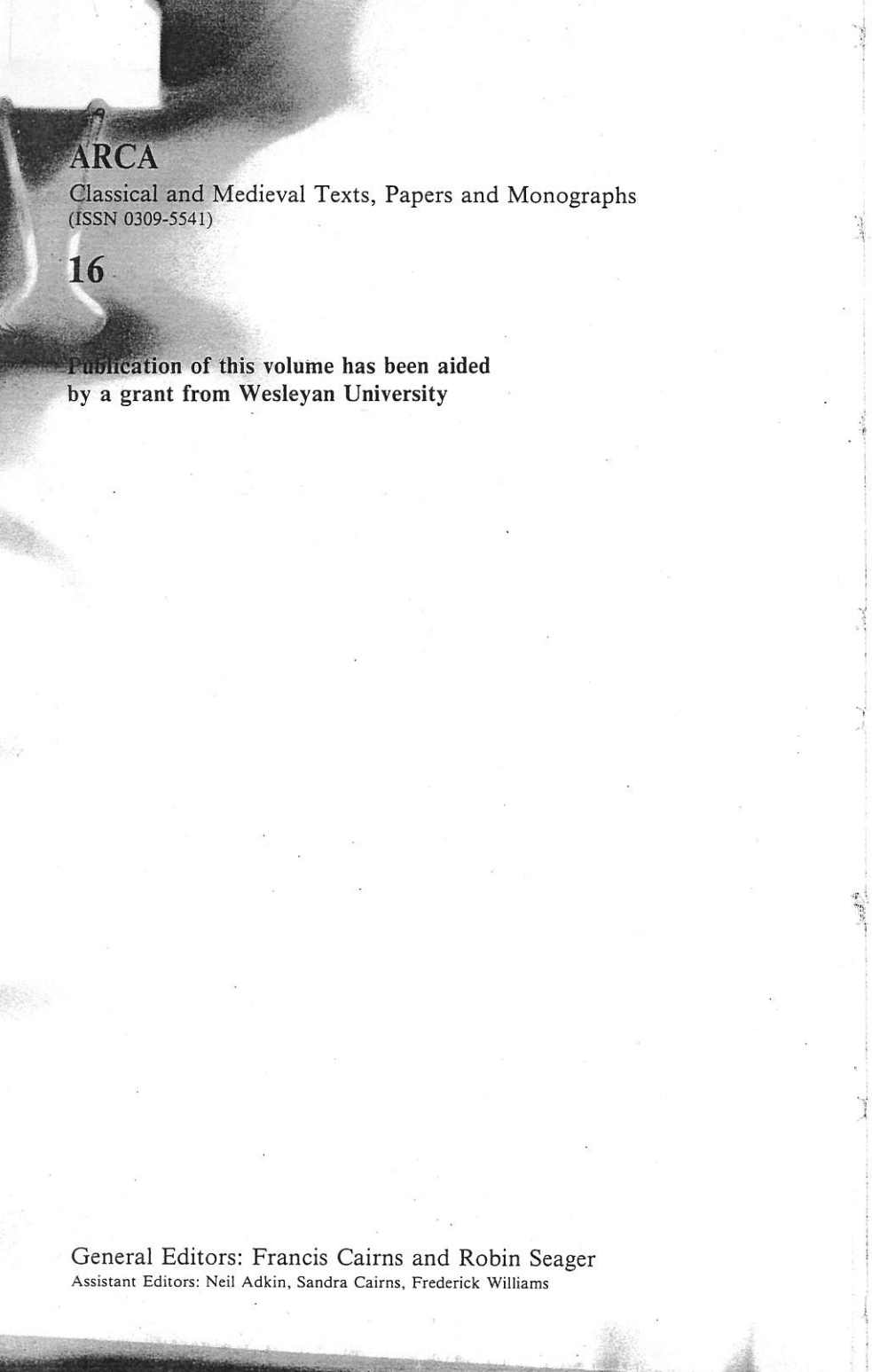

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BIBLICAL EPIC AND RHETORICAL PARAPHRASE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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PREFACE

The present study is an extensively revised and reduced version of a dissertation submitted in 1978 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I should like here to express my gratitude to Professor Luitpold Wallach, my dissertation director, for his continued advice and encouragement during the time I was working on the dissertation. To him is due much of the credit for whatever merits my work may possess. More recently I have benefited from the generous help and advice of my colleague at Wesleyan University, Professor David Konstan, who read the entire manuscript and made many valuable suggestions for its revision. I need hardly say that I alone am responsible for whatever defects remain.

My thanks are also due to the staffs of the library of the University of Illinois, especially the Classics Library and Reference and Inter-Library Loan Departments, and of the Olin Library, Wesleyan University, who suffered my demands on their time and patience and were able to turn up copies of books and articles I scarcely hoped ever to see.

Finally, the acknowledgements would not be complete without a mention of my wife, Linda, who provided me with unfailing support during the years when I was working on this study and who undertook the onerous task of typing the successive drafts of an often barely legible manuscript.

Michael Roberts
Wesleyan University, 1984

ABBREVIATIONS

The list includes works of reference, text series, and the more unfamiliar journal abbreviations. For other abbreviations used see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and *L'Année philologique*.

ALLG — Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik

BFC — Bollettino di filologia classica

BPhW — Berliner philologische Wochenschrift

BSG — Berichte über die Verhandlungen der kgl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig

ByzJ — Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher

CCL — Corpus Christianorum, series Latina

CIL — Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CPL — Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum, ed. Robert Cavenaile (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1958)

CSEL — Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

DACL — Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie

DThC — Dictionnaire de théologie catholique

DVjft — Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte

GCS — Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte

Herzog, *Bibelepik* — Reinhart Herzog, *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike: Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung*, vol. 1 (Munich: Fink, 1975)

JPh — Journal of Philology

MAT — Memorie della r. Accademia delle scienze di Torino

MGH — Monumenta Germaniae Historica

MSLC — Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica, Catania, Centro di studi di storia, arte e lett. crist. ant.

NJA — Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum

Pack 2. — Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

PG — Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne

PL — Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne

PVS — Proceedings of the Virgil Society

RAC — Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum

RE — Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

RScR — Revue des sciences religeuses

Schanz-Hosius — Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinians*, 4 vols. in 5, rev. ed. by Carl Hosius and Gustav Krüger, Müllers Handbuch, vol. 8 (Munich: Beck, 1914-1935; vol. 1, 4th ed., 1927; vol. 2, 4th ed., 1935; vol. 3, 3rd ed., 1922; vol. 4.1, 2nd ed., 1914)

Schmid-Stählin — Wilhelm Schmid and Otto Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Müllers Handbuch, vol. 7, 2 vols in 7 (vol. 1, Munich: Beck, 1929-1948; vol. 2, Munich: Beck, 1920-1924 [6th ed. of Wilhelm von Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*])

Sp. — Leonard Spengel (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1853-1856)

ThLL — Thesaurus Linguae Latinae

Thraede, 'Epos' — Klaus Thraede, 'Epos', *RAC* 5 (Stuttgart, 1962), coll. 983-1042

ThS — Theologische Studien und Kritiken

Zalateo — Giorgio Zalateo, 'Papiri scolastici', *Aegyptus* 41 (1961), 160-235

ZOEG — Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien

ZWTh — Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

1

INTRODUCTION: PROBLEM AND PROCEDURES

There survive from late antiquity a number of hexameter versions of biblical texts. The most important are those of Juvencus and Sedulius (of the Gospels), Arator (of Acts), "Cyprianus Gallus"[1] (Genesis to Judges), Claudius Marius Victorius (Genesis) and Avitus (parts of Genesis and Exodus). These works are generally described as biblical epics because of their hexameter form and their imitation of pagan epic, especially Virgil. It has further been widely accepted that they depend for their technique of composition on an exercise traditionally practised in the schools of rhetoric, the paraphrase.[2] Thus Thraede, in his article on epic in the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, classifies the biblical poems (including Dracontius' *Laudes Dei* and the Greek works of Nonnus and ps.-Apollinarius) as epic paraphrases.[3] Surprisingly, however, no thorough modern study has been made of the paraphrase and its procedures. Histories of ancient education largely ignore the paraphrase.[4] We rely for the most part on studies written early this century, in which the paraphrase itself may be only of subsidiary

[1] For the authorship of the Heptateuch poem see below, p.93.

[2] For the references, and a dissenting voice, see p.61. Ernst Robert Curtius is undoubtedly the most influential exponent of this view (below, ch.4, n.2).

[3] Thraede, 'Epos', coll. 999-1006. He also classifies the *Vita S. Martini* of Paulinus of Périgeux and the *Eucharisticos* of Paulinus of Pella as "biographische u. autobiographische Paraphrase."

[4] Stanley F. Bonner's book on Roman education, *Education in Ancient Rome from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp.255-56, contains a reference to one of the passages in Quintilian concerning the paraphrase (I 9,2), but it is concerned solely with the subsidiary question of whether the paraphrases were of verse fables or poetic texts in general.

interest.[5] But papyri have recently been discovered that help to fill out the picture of the paraphrase derived from rhetorical treatises. For instance, papyrological evidence illustrates more clearly than any theoretical pronouncements could the sharp distinction between the grammatical and rhetorical paraphrase.[6] It is now clear that none of the biblical poems, however faithful they are to their original, can properly be described as a grammatical paraphrase.[7]

The purpose of this study, therefore, is twofold: to consider the evidence for the paraphrase and to measure the biblical epic against the results thus achieved. Not only will it thereby be possible to show that the biblical epic does indeed use characteristic paraphrastic techniques,[8] but also such analysis will reveal the stylistic preferences of individual poets and the particular emphasis each puts on the biblical text. The study will take the following form. Chapter 2 will be devoted to references to the paraphrase in Greek and Latin rhetorical treatises, in an attempt to identify the nature and characteristic procedures of the paraphrase and to locate the theory of the paraphrase in the broader context of ancient rhetoric and literary criticism.[9] Chapter 3, which will deal with surviving examples of the paraphrase (including the papyri), will establish a hierarchy of paraphrastic forms and clarify the position of biblical epic in that hierarchy. The results of these two chapters will then provide a framework for the analysis of the major biblical poems of late antiquity. Before embarking on the analysis of the texts I shall devote another chapter (4) to providing the necessary background for such an analysis: a survey of the biographical data for each poet, and a consideration of the passages (largely in prefatory matter) in which the poets discuss their motives and methods in composing their biblical works. This is all the more necessary as the poets are not immediately familiar names. Standard works of reference are not

[5] See below, ch.2, n.1. Wijkström's book is disappointing in this respect since it is primarily a minute examination of the possibilities of variation in citation rather than a study of paraphrase in the broader sense.

[6] For these terms and the papyrological evidence see below, pp.37-53.

[7] Cf. Thraede, 'Epos', coll. 1026-27. Thraede correctly emphasizes that the works of Juvencus and "Cyprianus Gallus" are more literal than later New and Old Testament paraphrases. His terminology, however, is misleading.

[8] Thraede, 'Epos', col. 1025, gives an incomplete list of the characteristic procedures of the paraphrase: "*amplificatio*, *exornatio*, *variatio*, *additio*, zb. Einfügung synopt. Parallelen, erweiternde Ekphrasis, Isokola."

[9] In the hope that these texts will be of interest to students of non-classical literatures, I have provided translations of the theoretical passages in question. The translations aim no higher than literal accuracy; not all of the passages are readily accessible in English translation.

entirely reliable in that they contain a certain amount of misinformation; and, moreover, there remain a number of unresolved issues. In addition to presenting a reliable account of what is known about the individual poets, I hope to indicate the continuity between the poets of the New and Old Testament traditions and to extract from the poets' own remarks some support for my contention that they viewed themselves as writing biblical paraphrases. The analysis of the texts themselves proceeds from the maximum degree of abbreviation, omission, to the maximum degree of amplification, digression. As my presentation of the theory of the paraphrase will show, there is no clear demarcation between a paraphrase and an independent work of literature. Paraphrastic theory is a part of the broader theory of literary *imitatio*. As a result techniques at home in the paraphrase are also pervasive in nonparaphrastic literature, especially techniques of verbal abundance. To anticipate the results of my research into paraphrastic theory, of the triad abbreviation, transposition and amplification, I have been inclined to consider the first two of most probative value in indicating paraphrastic intent. Only those techniques of amplification which most clearly add nothing to the sense of the original, and are therefore consistent with a guiding principle of the paraphrase, can be said to reinforce this intent. For this reason amplifications of greater extent are discussed in a separate chapter. They are of special interest because they are often responsible for the particular qualities of an individual work and reveal most clearly the tendency of the biblical deformation implicit in the paraphrastic procedure.

A few words are also called for on the scope of the study. The period of late antiquity is not easily defined. I follow Manfred Fuhrmann,[10] according to whom it extends roughly from the mid-third to the mid-seventh century, although, it should be noted, the lower limit is subject to regional variation.[11] Fuhrmann's dating is particularly appropriate to the present study since it depends primarily on literary evidence. In fact, the biblical poets span most of that period, from Juvencus, whose work is dedicated to Constantine, the first Christian emperor, to Arator, who gave a public reading of his biblical epic in 544, when Totila and the Goths were already threatening Rome. A study of the biblical epic is, then, *ipso facto* a

[10] Manfred Fuhrmann, 'Die lateinische Literatur der Spätantike: ein literarhistorischer Beitrag zum Kontinuitätsproblem', *A&A* 13 (1967), pp.56-79 (esp. p.62).

[11] Fuhrmann, pp.61 and 77.

contribution to the larger subject of Christian Latin poetry in late antiquity.

Inevitably, it has proved impossible to study every verse treatment of a biblical passage that falls within our chronological limits. I have, for instance, limited myself to hexameter paraphrases. Biblical paraphrases contained in largely non-biblical works are excluded, although some notice has been taken of the Genesis paraphrase in Dracontius' *Laudes Dei*. Similarly, my primary interest has been in the more extensive biblical paraphrases, those exceeding one book in length. Shorter paraphrases are alluded to only in so far as they contribute to the understanding of the primary works.[12] For reasons of space I have also excluded the Greek paraphrases of ps.-Apollinarius and Nonnus. They provide interesting points of comparison with the Western tradition. Much more faithful to the original than even the most literal of the Latin poets, the Greek poets are generally content to produce a stylistically improved metrical version of the biblical text.[13]

[12] The study, therefore, includes all the major biblical epics. I understand as biblical epics all poems written in the dactylic hexameter which owe their narrative continuity to a biblical sequence of events. I do not include biblical centos, although I recognize the relationship between biblical epic and cento (cf. Klaus Thraede, *Studien zu Sprache und Stil des Prudentius*, Hypomnemata 13 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965], p.25, n.22). The cento is clearly distinguished from biblical epic in the degree of its dependence on the Virgilian model. It was the element of literary *jeu d'esprit*, typical of the cento, that aroused the opposition of Tertullian (*Praescr.* 39; *CSEL* 70, 50.4-15) and Jerome (*Ep.* LIII 7; *CSEL* 54, 454.1-12).

[13] Nonnus' Μεταβολὴ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου is edited by August Scheindler, *Nonni Panopolitani Paraphrasis S. Evangelii Ioannei* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881); the Μετάφρασις τοῦ Ψαλτῆρος, attributed, in all probability wrongly, to the heresiarch Apollinarius of Laodicea, by Arthur Ludwich, *Apolinarii Metaphrasis Psalmorum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912). We hear of a number of lost Greek biblical epics: a paraphrase of the historical books of the Old Testament by Apollinarius, the heresiarch (Sozomenus, *H.E.* V 18,3-5), or his father, Apollinarius (Socrates, *H.E.* III 16), and a paraphrase of the Octateuch, Zachariah and Daniel by the empress Eudocia (first half of the fifth century), whose Homeric centos on the life of Christ survive. Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica* IX 20-29 and 37) and Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* I 23,155-56) preserve fragments of Hellenistic Jewish biblical paraphrases.

2

THE PARAPHRASE IN RHETORICAL THEORY

Theoretical pronouncements on the paraphrase are found in rhetorical treatises from Cicero's *De Oratore* to the Byzantine commentaries on Hermogenes and Aphthonius.[1] The present chapter will discuss the passages in question in an attempt to discover: i) the nature and function of the paraphrase; and ii) its characteristic procedures. The majority of theoretical discussions concern the paraphrase as an educational exercise and, therefore, as a preliminary, it will be useful to outline the standard exercises employed in the schools of rhetoric. Since the most important evidence for the paraphrase is in writings of the late first and early second centuries A.D., it will be convenient to take as a point of departure Roman educational practice of that period, as reflected in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*.

Two distinct kinds of rhetorical exercises are there described. Declamations, in the form of *suasoriae* and *controversiae*, are chronologically the second type of exercise, the culmination of the student's training. In them he discoursed on deliberative or judicial themes, often of a rather fanciful nature, themes which provided

[1] For Hermogenes, Aphthonius and the Byzantine commentaries see George L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, Analecta Vlatadon 17 (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1973), pp.5-26, and Otmar Schissel, 'Die rhetorische Progymnasmatik der Byzantiner', *ByzJ* 11 (1935), pp.3-5. On the paraphrase in general I have found Eduard Stemplinger's treatment in *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), pp.118-21 and 212-15, most useful. See also A. Brinkmann, 'Die Homer-Metaphrasen des Prokopios von Gaza', *RhM* 63 (1908), pp.618-20, and Bertil Wijkström, *Studier över Parafrasen i Latinsk Prosa*, diss. (Göteborg: Eranos, 1937), pp.1-16.

plenty of scope for the display of rhetorical expertise.[2] Such declamations had been in vogue since at least the Augustan era, as evidenced by the Elder Seneca's collection of excerpts from, and outlines of, declamations of that period. Teachers of rhetoric themselves would compose sample declamations for their students. These declamations were often performed before an audience in order to display the speaker's rhetorical powers.[3] Before the student advanced to declamations, however, he had to pass through a course of preliminary exercises or *progymnasmata*, a graded sequence of exercises designed to promote skill in composition. Both Quintilian and Theon, the first-century A.D. Greek rhetorician, list the paraphrase among these *progymnasmata*.[4] In tracing the history of the paraphrase, then, some attention should be given to the development of the curriculum of *progymnasmata*.

The Beginnings to the First Half of the Second Century A.D.

Progymnasmata and the paraphrase before Cicero

The word προγύμνασμα is first used in a rhetorical context in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 28 (1436a 25) (2nd half of the 4th century B.C.). There it refers to preparatory exercises in general, without implying the fully developed syllabus of the rhetorical schools of the Empire.[5] According to Reichel,[6] the oldest

[2] On Quintilian's attitude to the practice of declamation see M.L. Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome: A Historical Survey* (London: Cohen and West, 1953), pp.125-29; Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Press, 1926), pp.204-18; and George Kennedy, *Quintilian* (New York: Twayne, 1969), pp.50-53. Quintilian maintained the usefulness of such exercises, while criticizing the excesses that sometimes resulted (cf. II 10,1-3 and the other passages cited by Clarke).

[3] S.F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), is primarily concerned with the writings of the Elder Seneca (esp. pp.31ff.); his first chapter investigates the evidence for the declamatory exercises before the Augustan period – cf. also George Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 300 B.C.-A.D. 300* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp.91-96 and 312-37, and Clarke, pp.85-99.

[4] Georg Reichel, *Quaestiones Progymnasmaticae*, diss. (Leipzig, 1909), pp.20-30, presents the evidence for Theon's date. For a summary of the conflicting views see Stegemann, 'Theon', *RE* n.s. 5 (Stuttgart, 1934), coll. 2037-39. On *progymnasmata* see also W. Kroll, 'Rhetorik', *RE* suppl. 7 (Stuttgart, 1940), coll. 1118-19, Henri Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), pp.172-75, Gwynn (above, n.2), pp.200-202, and Émile Jullien, *Les professeurs de littérature dans l'ancienne Rome et leur enseignement depuis l'origine jusqu' à la mort d'Auguste* (Paris: Leroux, 1885), pp.282-320.

[5] On this passage see Reichel, pp.9-10, and Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (above, ch.1 n.4), p.250. For the present purposes there is no need to investigate the question of the authorship of this work. On this see G.M.A. Grube, *A Greek Critic: Demetrius on Style*, Phoenix Supplementary Volume 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp.156-63.

[6] Reichel, pp.10-11.

of the individual exercises that afterwards made up the standard progymnasmatic curriculum is the θέσις or general question (cf. Quintilian II 1,9). It had long been practised in the schools of philosophy, particularly by the Peripatetics and Academics, before it was claimed for rhetoric by Hermagoras.[7] Of particular interest to the present study is a reference by Plutarch to an exercise of the orator Demosthenes (*Demosthenes* 8,2). Plutarch records that Demosthenes was in the habit of paraphrasing his own and other people's speeches (μεταφράσεις ἐκαινοτόμει). The reference is difficult to evaluate, but, if Plutarch's information is reliable, we must suppose that Demosthenes, at least, recognized the value of the paraphrase as a stylistic exercise.

The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, written in the second decade of the first century B.C., contains references to at least two of the *progymnasmata* which later became standard, the *narratio* (διήγημα) and the chreia;[8] the latter is introduced as the figure of thought *expolitio*. It involves, in its fullest form, the elaboration of a simple idea along prescribed lines by the application of a succession of figures. On the basis of these passages in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, it has been conjectured that a systematic course of *progymnasmata* was already beginning to develop during the second century B.C.[9]

Cicero

References to *progymnasmata* in Cicero are scanty. Reichel[10] has collected the relevant passages. Among them is the earliest explicit reference to the paraphrase as an independent rhetorical exercise:

> In cotidianis autem commentationibus equidem mihi adulescentulus proponere solebam illam exercitationem maxime, qua C. Carbonem nostrum illum inimicum solitum esse uti sciebam, ut aut versibus propositis quam maxime gravibus aut oratione aliqua lecta ad eum finem, quem memoria possem comprehendere, eam rem ipsam, quam

[7] Cicero, *De Inventione* I 6,8.

[8] *Narratio*: *Rhet. ad Her.* I 8,12 (cf. Cicero, *Inv.* I 19,27); *expolitio*: *Rhet. ad Her.* IV 42,54-44,58: *cum rem simpliciter pronuntiarimus, rationem poterimus subicere; deinde dupliciter vel sine rationibus vel cum rationibus pronuntiare; deinde adferre contrarium; deinde simile et exemplum . . .; deinde conclusionem* (IV 43,56). I quote the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the text of Harry Caplan, [*Cicero*] *ad C. Herennium De Ratione Dicendi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968). Reichel (above, n.3), pp.12-16, discusses these passages. The chreia is closely related to the paraphrase.

[9] Cf. Clarke (above, n.2), p.166, n.26: "Our knowledge of the προγυμνάσματα comes from the writers of the Empire, but the system no doubt took shape earlier, perhaps in the second century B.C." Clarke cites Karl Barwick, 'Die Gliederung der *Narratio* in der rhetorischen Theorie und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des antiken Romans', *Hermes* 63 (1928), pp.282-83.

[10] Reichel (above, n.3), pp.12-19.

> legissem, verbis aliis quam maxime possem lectis, pronuntiarem; sed post animadverti hoc esse in hoc viti, quod ea verba, quae maxime cuiusque rei propria quaeque essent ornatissima atque optima, occupasset aut Ennius, si ad eius versus me exercerem, aut Gracchus, si eius orationem mihi forte proposuissem: ita, si eisdem verbis uterer, nihil prodesse; si aliis, etiam obesse, cum minus idoneis uti consuescerem.[11] (*De Oratore* I 34,154)
>
> However in my daily studies when I was a young man I used particularly to set myself that exercise which I know Gaius Carbo, that old enemy of mine, was accustomed to practise. I would set myself a piece of verse of the greatest possible weight or read as much of a speech as I could retain in my memory, and then reproduce the content of what I had read, selecting, as far as possible, different words. But later I realized there was a drawback to this exercise. For either Ennius, if I practised on his verses, or Gracchus, if I set myself one of his speeches, had laid prior claim to those words which were especially appropriate to each subject and were most polished and best. So, if I used the same words, I received no benefit; if different words, I was even harmed, since I was acquiring the habit of using less than suitable diction.

The speaker is Lucius Crassus. C. Carbo is Gaius Papirius Carbo, the supporter of Tiberius Gracchus, who was prosecuted by Crassus in 119 B.C.; hence the aside *nostrum illum inimicum*. Carbo's devotion to rhetorical exercises seems to have struck Cicero as particularly noteworthy. The *Brutus* (27,105)[12] contains a similar reference, though without specifying the kind of exercises in question. Evidently, the paraphrase was an exercise that might be practised even by mature orators, for there is no reason to suppose that Carbo was still learning his trade at the time referred to by Crassus. Cicero envisages two kinds of paraphrase: i) from prose into prose, perhaps similar to the practice of Demosthenes recorded by Plutarch;[13] ii) from verse into prose: it can be inferred that a paraphrase into prose is intended – Cicero is after all writing about the training of an orator – although this is not explicit. Cicero avoids being specific about the changes an original text would undergo in the process of

[11] I shall cite Cicero's rhetorical works, the *De Oratore*, *Orator* and *Brutus*, from Wilkins' text, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Rhetorica*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902-1903).

[12] *L. Gellius ... addebat (Carbonem) industrium etiam et diligentem et in exercitationibus commentationibusque multum operae solitum est ponere.*

[13] The choice of a speech by Gracchus no doubt reflects Carbo's political leanings. Cicero does not specify which Gracchus he means. He had a particularly high opinion of the eloquence of the younger brother, Gaius (*Brutus* 33,126, *eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem*).

paraphrase. Choice of words seems to have been especially important. The exercise was largely stylistic; it aimed at rhetorical *ornatus*.[14] The reservations Cicero/Crassus has about the paraphrase will be taken up by later authors (Theon [62.10-24 Sp.] and Quintilian [X 5,5-8] – the objection is attributed to no definite person or school[15]). In fact, a number of characteristic elements of paraphrastic theory, notably the emphasis on *aemulatio* and the doctrine of innumerable *modi tractandi*, seem designed in part to respond to this criticism. Cicero prefers the exercise of translation to the paraphrase, as he goes on to say in the next section (*De Or.* I 34,155). It is significant that both Quintilian, who cites this passage of Cicero, and Pliny[16] discuss the exercises of translation and paraphrase successively, though they reverse the order of the *De Oratore* (i.e. translation precedes paraphrase). Translation is evidently a process very closely related to paraphrase. The two share common terminology and procedures.[17] It is only the fact that the original is in a different language that distinguishes the translation from the paraphrase.

Theon

Theon's treatise is the earliest surviving work devoted entirely to the subject of *progymnasmata*. Although other similar works are referred to in his introduction, none have survived.[18] Theon was probably a contemporary of Quintilian and, according to Reichel, he was either a Stoic or influenced by Stoic doctrine. Reichel tentatively suggests

[14] The reference to rhetorical *ornatus* is typical of Cicero. Cf. *De Or.* I 21,94, *eum statuebam ... eloquentem ..., qui mirabilius et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare quae vellet*; III 26,104, *summa autem laus eloquentiae est amplificare rem ornando.*

[15] Theon (62.11 Sp.), ὥς τισιν εἴρηται ἢ ἔδοξεν; Quintilian X 5,5, *ab illis dissentio*; cf. Reichel, pp.112 and 125-26.

[16] Quintilian X 5,2-11; Pliny *Ep.* VII 9,2-3. Pliny lists the exercises in the same order as his master, Quintilian.

[17] For instance, both paraphrases and translations may be 'word-for-word' or 'free'. Cf. Arno Reiff, *Interpretatio, Imitatio, Aemulatio: Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern*, diss. (Cologne, 1959), p.114: "Paraphrasieren, Auslegen, wortwörtliches Übersetzen und freies Gestalten fiel für sie (the Romans) in ein und demselben Begriff zusammen," and Manfred Fuhrmann, '*Interpretatio*: Notizen zur Wortgeschichte', in *Sympotica Franz Wieacker* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), pp.80-90; Heinrich Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit: Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen*, Studia et testimonia antiqua 14 (Munich: Fink, 1974), pp.61-93. Thraede, 'Epos', col. 995, speaks of the *Ilias Latina* as an "Übersetzungs-paraphrase."

[18] οὐχ ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συγγεγραφότων περὶ τούτων (59.15-16 Sp.); cf. also Reichel (above, n.3), p.37.

an identification with the *Theon stoicus* of Quintilian IX 3,76 (cf. also III 6,48).[19]

Theon's work, as we now have it, contains sections on the μῦθος, διήγημα, χρεία, ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή, τόπος, ἐγκώμιον and ψόγος, σύγκρισις, προσωποποιΐα, ἔκφρασις, θέσις and νόμος. It is clear from the introduction that the original order of the exercises has been rearranged to correspond with the systems (later canonical) of Hermogenes and Aphthonius,[20] and that Theon's treatment of the final five exercises, ἀνάγνωσις, ἀκρόασις, παράφρασις, ἐξεργασία and ἀντίρρησις has been lost.[21] Fortunately, the introductory chapter contains a good deal of information on the paraphrase. Theon felt called upon to defend the paraphrase against criticism very similar to that expressed by Cicero in the *De Oratore*:

> ἡ δὲ παράφρασις οὐχ ὥς τισιν εἴρηται ἢ ἔδοξεν, ἄχρηστός ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ καλῶς εἰπεῖν, φασίν, ἅπαξ περιγίνεται, δὶς δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται· οὗτοι δὲ σφόδρα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ διημαρτήκασι. τῆς γὰρ διανοίας ὑφ' ἑνὶ πράγματι μὴ καθ' ἕνα τρόπον κινουμένης, ὥστε τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν αὐτῇ φαντασίαν ὁμοίως προενέγκασθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πλείους, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποφαινομένων ἡμῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ἐρωτώντων, ποτὲ δὲ πυνθανομένων, ποτὲ δὲ εὐχομένων, ποτὲ δὲ κατ' ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον τὸ νοηθὲν ἐκφερόντων, οὐδὲν κωλύει κατὰ πάντας τοὺς τρόπους τὸ φαντασθὲν ἐπίσης καλῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτου καὶ παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ ἱστορικοῖς, καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντες οἱ παλαιοὶ φαίνονται τῇ παραφράσει ἄριστα κεχρημένοι, οὐ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων μεταπλάσσοντες. (62.10-24 Sp.)
>
> Paraphrase is not useless, as some say or believe. For, in their opinion, proper expression is achieved once, and cannot be achieved a second time. In this they are quite wrong. For thought aroused by a single subject and the satisfactory expression of the presentation that originated it are not uniform but capable of great variety. We may employ direct statement, rhetorical question, inquiry or any other manner of expressing the idea. Indeed there is no reason why the object presented should not be expressed equally well in all these ways. Evidence of this is found in the poets and historians. In fact, all of the ancients clearly make excellent use of the paraphrase, rephrasing not only their own words but those of each other.

[19] Reichel, pp.22-30. See also Stegemann (above, n.4), coll. 2038-39, and Italo Lana, *Quintiliano, il "Sublime" e gli "Esercizi preparatori" di Elio Teone: Ricerca sulle fonti greche di Quintiliano e sull' autore "del Sublime"*, Università di Torino, Pubblicazioni della facoltà di lettere e filosofia III.4 (Torino: Università di Torino, 1951), pp.111-13 and 153-59. Lana compares Theon's *Progymnasmata* with Quintilian's *Institutio* and the anonymous treatise *On the Sublime* (pp.108-72) and speculates that Theon is the author of *On the Sublime* (p.172).

[20] For the supremacy of Hermogenes and Aphthonius see above, n.1. Both works are edited by Hugo Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera*, *Rhetores Graeci* vol. 6 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), pp.1-27, and *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, *Rhetores Graeci* vol. 10 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1926). Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata* are of doubtful authenticity (cf. Rabe, pp.iv-vi). In what follows I shall for convenience's sake refer to Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata* without intending to imply any judgement about the work's authorship.

[21] Reichel (above, n.3), pp.31-32 and 111; cf. 61.28 - 64.28, 65.22-25 and 69.27 - 70.22 Sp. Reichel (p.37) supposes that the final five exercises were innovations of Theon – presumably he means Theon first introduced them into the curriculum of *progymnasmata*. But at least for the *paraphrasis* such a view seems unlikely in the light of the references to the exercise in Cicero (*De Or.* I 34,154), Quintilian (I 9,2 and X 5,4-11) and Suetonius (*Gram.* 4,3). An Armenian translation survives containing all but the last of the lost *progymnasmata*, edited by Agop Manandian, *Theonis Progymnasmata (*Περὶ ῥητορικῶν γυμνασμάτων*) armenice et graece* (Erevani: Institutum Historiae et Literarum SSR Armeniae, 1938), but it has not been translated into any more accessible language.

According to Theon, the art of paraphrase consists of expressing a single idea in a number of different ways (τρόποι); the τρόποι involve variation of style, not content. To support the assertion that a single idea can be expressed well in more than one way he cites a number of examples from ancient literature (62.24 - 64.25 Sp.).[22] In each group of examples the common element is the underlying thought, the variation lies in the manner of expression. Theon speaks particularly of the variety of styles (τῇ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ποικιλίᾳ, 64.3 Sp.)[23] by which Demosthenes was able to conceal the repetitions found in his speeches. The paraphrase, then, as a rhetorical exercise can be expected to teach such stylistic versatility.

Theon also furnishes some information on the possible variations (τρόποι) that may be introduced into an original text. It is clear that he is thinking not so much of the specific language in which a thought is expressed, as of the general cast of the idea as a whole. The idea may be phrased in the form of a direct statement (ποτὲ μὲν ἀποφαινομένων ἡμῶν), or as some form of question (ποτὲ δὲ ἐρωτώνωτων, ποτὲ δὲ πυνθανομένων)[24] or in the form of a prayer

[22] Stemplinger (above, n.1), pp.38-40, discusses many of the examples given by Theon. They are classified as: i) from the poets (i.e. from verse to verse and verse to prose); ii) from the historians; iii) from other prose writers; and iv) paraphrases of an author's own writings.

[23] For ποικιλία as a technical term of rhetoric see W. Rhys Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: On Literary Composition* (London: Macmillan, 1910), p.318. He translates the word "variety," "decoration."

[24] Theon distinguishes between ἐρώτησις and πεῦσις in his section on the chreia (97.26-30 Sp.): διαφέρει δὲ τοῦ πύσματος ἡ ἐρώτησις, ὅτι πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἐρώτησιν συγκαταθέσθαι δεῖ μόνον ἢ ἀρνήσασθαι, οἷον ἀνανεῦσαι ἢ κατανεῦσαι, ἢ διά γε τοῦ ναὶ ἢ οὒ ἀποκρίνασθαι, τὸ δὲ πύσμα μακροτέραν ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. The examples cited by Theon illustrate a number of τρόποι. For instance, the sacking of a city is described by Homer (*Il.* IX 593-94) in third-person narrative, by Demosthenes in first-person narrative (*De falsa legatione* 65) and by Aeschines in the form of an

(ποτὲ δὲ εὐχομένων). Similar possibilities of variation had been recognized before Theon. Aristotle[25] casts the same idea in the form of advice (ὑποθήκη) and praise (ἔπαινος); both could be described as modes of expression (τρόποι). *Expolitio* in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* involves the repetition of the same idea in various ways, for instance in the form of a dialogue (*sermocinatio*) or arousal (*exsuscitatio*).[26] Perhaps the most striking example of this kind of paraphrase is the Μεταποιήσεις of the fourth-century rhetorician, Sopater.[27] The text is fragmentary, but it is clear that Sopater undertook to paraphrase a text of Homer (*Iliad* 17,629-42, or parts of it) in seventy-two different ways and of Demosthenes (*De Corona* 60) in seventy-four.[28] Over fifty of his paraphrases of the Homeric passage survive. Each involves the application of a different figure of thought; for, as Sopater remarks, figures of thought are more difficult to master than figures of diction and include a variety of modes of expression (ὡς ποικίλους ἔχουσαν τρόπους) – in the context of the paraphrase the term τρόπος seems to have a broad significance, including the figures of speech and the grammatical modes of the sentence.[29] Sopater's performance is clearly a *tour de force*; he is a

address to the listener (*Contra Ctesiphontem* 157; 62.31 - 63.15 Sp.). A gnomic remark on envy is found in direct statement in Thucydides (II 45,1), indirect statement introduced by ἐπίσταμαι γάρ in Theopompus (fr. 395 Jacoby) and rhetorical question beginning τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε in Demosthenes (*De Corona* 315; 63.15-25 Sp.).

[25] *Rhetoric* I 9,36 (1367b-1368a).

[26] *Rhet. ad Her.* IV 42,54, *expolitio est cum in eodem loco manemus et aliud atque aliud dicere videmur*; 43,56, *eadem res igitur his tribus in dicendo commutabitur rebus: verbis, pronuntiando, tractando; tractando dupliciter: sermocinatione et exsuscitatione*. The translations of *sermocinatio* and *exsuscitatio* are Caplan's.

[27] Ed. Stephan Glöckner, 'Aus Sopatros Μεταποιήσεις', *RhM* 65 (1910), pp.504-14. Sopater is cited by the Byzantine commentator, John the Deacon, in his commentary on Hermogenes' Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος; cf. Hugo Rabe, 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften', *RhM* 63 (1908), pp.141-43.

[28] 'Ομηρικὸν ἐνταῦθα χωρίον λαβὼν εἰς οβ μετασχηματίζει τύπους καὶ ἕτερον Δημοσθενικὸν <εἰς> οδ (505.4-5 Glöckner).

[29] It is worth quoting the whole passage: Δεῖ δέ, φησί, τὸν μεταποιεῖν βουλόμενον καὶ ταύτην ἐθέλοντα μετιέναι τοῦ λόγου τὴν δύναμιν ἀναγκαῖως ἔχειν προηγουμένως τῶν σχημάτων τὴν μάθησιν. ἅπαν δὲ σχῆμα ἢ κατ' ἀπαγγελίαν λέξεως ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐκφέρεται. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τῆς λέξεως ὀλίγην τινὰ λέγει εἶναι καὶ στενήν· ἢ γὰρ ἀμειβομένης τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων τε καὶ ῥημάτων θέσεως καινίζεσθαι τὴν φράσιν ἢ πρὸς τὰς πτώσεις καινίζεσθαι τὸν λόγον ἢ τὴν τάξιν ἐναλλάττεσθαι τοῦ τόπου, ὥστε τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τελευταῖα τίθεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρῶτα, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἄρχεσθαι· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον εἰσαγωγικὸν καὶ παίδων· τὴν δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν τῶν τελεωτέρων τυγχάνειν ὡς ποικίλους ἔχουσαν τρόπους· ἢ γὰρ τὸν νοῦν ἀποστρέφεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἢ προηγουμένως καὶ ἐξ εὐθείας ἢ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ἐναλλάττεις τὸν νοῦν ἢ κατ' εἰρωνείαν σχηματίζεις τὸν λόγον ἢ κατὰ βαρύτητα ἢ καταφορικῶς ἢ παθητικῶς ἢ ἀνακλητικῶς ἢ κατὰ παραβολήν (505.6-21 Glöckner). William G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation, Being Scholia Aristophanica Vol. III* (London: Macmillan, 1905), pp.281-82, notes that Theon speaks of tropes in a "natural, almost untechnical, sense." For further examples of this sense of τρόποι see ch.5 n.86, and Kustas (above, n.1), p.39, n.1.

master of rhetoric giving an exhibition of his virtuosity. But a practical school exercise underlies this show of verbal expertise. It involves taking a relatively short passage from a standard author and successively applying to it the figures of thought and diction.[30] The exercise would be valuable in developing the student's mastery of rhetorical techniques.

One further passage in Theon's *Progymnasmata* deserves attention. At the end of his introductory chapter he prescribes the order in which a student should undertake the *progymnasmata*: the *paraphrasis* is an exercise that may be undertaken at any stage, including the very earliest.[31] The level of difficulty of a paraphrase could apparently be adjusted to suit the student's competency; the difficulty of the exercise would depend on the nature of the text to be paraphrased and the complexity of the variation to be introduced.

Quintilian

The only treatise in Latin devoted entirely to *progymnasmata*, the *Praeexercitamina* of Priscian, is late (sixth century) and no more than a translation of Hermogenes' handbook. But the references to *progymnasmata* in Quintilian leave little doubt that such exercises were practised in the best Roman schools. Suetonius (*Rhet.* 25.5)[32]

[30] Sopater (505.8-16 Glöckner) implies the same thing could be done with figures of diction, though the exercise was a more elementary one. An analogy also exists with the chreia. At a simple level the chreia could be used as an exercise in the declension of adjectives and nouns; at a more advanced level a chreia could be expanded into quite an extensive composition (the exercise described in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* IV 42,54 - 44,57). Like the chreia, the paraphrase might involve a fairly simple recasting of an idea by the application of a rhetorical figure, or a more extensive expansion of a given text.

[31] The exercises of ἀνάγνωσις and ἀκρόασις could also be undertaken from the first (τῇ δὲ ἀναγνώσει καὶ τῇ ἀκροάσει καὶ τῇ παραφράσει χρησόμεθα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 65.22-23 Sp.). The final five exercises (that is, the three mentioned together with ἐξεργασία and ἀντίρρησις) are described by Theon (65.18 Sp.) as τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα γυμνάσματα. Reichel (above, n.4), p.37, was no doubt influenced by this passage when he proposed that the last five exercises were innovations of Theon. However, we know from Cicero, Theon and Quintilian something of the dispute that arose over the value of the paraphrase as a rhetorical exercise.

[32] *Donec sensim haec exoluerunt et ad controversiam ventum est*. Bonner, *Roman Declamation* (above, n.3), pp.10-11, apparently takes *haec* in this passage to refer merely to *theses*; it should rather be referred to all the exercises listed by Suetonius (i.e. chreiae, *narrationes*, translations, *laudes* and *vituperationes*, *theses*, ἀνασκευαί and κατασκευαί); cf. Rodney Potter Robinson's notes to this passage, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (Paris: Champion, 1925), pp.38-40; I cite Suetonius from this edition.

states that the *progymnasmata* were falling out of favour in his day and being replaced by *controversiae*, but from the context it is clear he is speaking only of the schools of rhetoric. Quintilian, too, complains that many of the more difficult *progymnasmata*, suitable for more advanced students, were being left by the teachers of rhetoric to the *grammatici*.[33] The point at issue is not the total abandonment of *progymnasmata* as such, but a professional dispute over the proper line of demarcation between the duties of the *grammaticus* and the *rhetor*.[34]

Four passages in Quintilian bear directly on the preliminary exercises in composition, or *progymnasmata*. The first deals with those exercises that he believes are most appropriately taught by the *grammaticus* (I 9);[35] the second distinguishes between the duties of the *grammaticus* and *rhetor* (II 1); later in the same book Quintilian prescribes the exercises in which a *rhetor* should give instruction before moving on to declamation (II 4); finally, in book ten, he recommends exercises for the more mature student, which are intended to produce not just verbal competence but that copiousness and fertility of expression (*copia ac facilitas*) which are the marks of the true orator.[36] The first and last of these passages make specific reference to the paraphrase.

Chapter nine of book one is concerned with *quaedam dicendi primordia quibus aetatis nondum rhetorem capientis instituant* (sc. *grammatici*). The first exercise mentioned is the narration of Aesopic fables. There then follows a reference to the paraphrase:

> versus primo solvere (condiscant), mox mutatis verbis interpretari, tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et breviare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur. quod opus, etiam consummatis professoribus difficile, qui commode tractaverit cuicumque discendo sufficiet. (I 9,2-3)
>
> Let them learn first to resolve the metrical form, next to give the meaning in different words, then to paraphrase more freely, wherein it is allowed both to abbreviate and embellish certain matters provided only the sense of the poet is retained. This is a task which is even difficult for mature teachers. Anyone who handles it properly will be able to learn anything.

It is evident that Quintilian has in mind prose paraphrases of poetry.[37] A number of scholars have taken the passage closely with what precedes and have understood Quintilian to be speaking of paraphrases of fables. They have naturally attempted to identify the collection of versified fables used in the schools. Both Phaedrus and Babrius have been suggested.[38] But Colson[39] is right to interpret the present passage as referring to a separate exercise. The poets in question would then be any appropriate for use in the classroom, especially Homer in Greek and Virgil in Latin.

[33] Quintilian I 9,6 and II 1,1-13. On these passages see Kennedy, *Quintilian* (above, n.2), pp.47-50.

[34] *Suetonius, Gram.* 4,3, speaks of *problemata, paraphrasis, adlocutiones, aetiologias, atque alias (meditationes) hoc genus .... quae quidem omitti iam video desidia quorundam et infantia; non enim fastidio putem.* Here it is a question of *grammatici* abandoning certain exercises, apparently because their students were not yet ready for them. This rather contradicts the passages in Quintilian, which suggest the *grammatici* were gradually taking over what Suetonius calls the *genera meditationum ad eloquentiam praeparandam.* No doubt Quintilian reflects more accurately the educational situation of his day. Both writers agree on the tendency to overemphasize declamations at the expense of the *progymnasmata*. In later centuries the balance was more than redressed – witness the various works devoted entirely to *progymnasmata* (and cf. Schissel [above, n.1], p.2). For the reading *aetiologias* in Suetonius see Rodney Potter Robinson, '*Ethologia* or *Aetiologia* in Suetonius *De Grammaticis* c.4 and Quintilian i. 9', *CPh* 15 (1920), pp.370-79, and F.H. Colson, 'Quintilian I 9 and the *Chria* in Ancient Education', *CR* 35 (1921), p.152. Both scholars prefer to read *aetiologias* rather than the emendation *ethologias*.

[35] He is intentionally brief in his account (I 10,1, *haec de grammatice, quam brevissime potui, non ut omnia dicerem sectatus, quod infinitum erat, sed ut maxime necessaria*). I quote Quintilian from the edition of M. Winterbottom, *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[36] X 5,1. In this passage Quintilian constantly has in mind Cicero's requirements for the ideal orator, as the immediately succeeding reference to the *De Oratore* indicates.

[37] For the large part played by poetic subjects in the training of an orator see Jullien (above, n.4), pp.325-26, and Helen North, 'The Use of Poetry in the Training of the Ancient Orator', *Traditio* 8 (1952), pp.1-33.

[38] Cf. F.H. Colson, *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae, Liber I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), pp.116-17 (note *ad loc.*) – Colson argues against this opinion; B.E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp.l-li, believes that Quintilian is speaking here of an exercise in Greek and Babrius is the author in question.

[39] Colson, p.117, and 'Phaedrus and Quintilian I 9.2: A Reply to Professor Postgate', *CR* 33 (1919), pp.59-61; Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (above, ch.1, n.4), pp.255-56, agrees with Colson. This is not to say that fables were not sometimes paraphrased, but probably from an original prose account. In fact, the *narratio* of a fable described by Quintilian in the previous section would in many ways resemble a paraphrase. We possess at least two papyri containing what appear to be fable paraphrases: Pack 2. 3010 = *CPL* 38, Zalateo 185; and Zalateo 208. The latter is included (as no. 38) in E. Ziebarth's *Aus der antiken Schule: Sammlung griechischer Texte auf Papyrus, Holztafeln, Ostraka*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen herausgegeben von H. Lietzmann, 65, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Marcus and Weber, 1913), p.17. Paul Beudel, *Qua ratione Graeci liberos docuerint, papyris, ostracis, tabulis in Aegypto inventis illustratur*, diss. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1911), pp.54-55, believes this paraphrase is of an original in iambic trimeters. A distinguished exponent of the fable paraphrase was Socrates, who occupied himself while in prison retelling the fables of Aesop in elegiacs (Plato, *Phaedo* 60d-e).

Quintilian describes the procedure to be followed by the writer of a paraphrase.[40] Three stages may be discerned: i) resolution of the metrical form (*versus primo solvere*); ii) *interpretatio*[41] – the replacement of poetic vocabulary by its simple prose equivalent (*mutatis verbis interpretari*); iii) the developed paraphrase – that is, the stylistic reworking of the skeleton prose account produced by *interpretatio*. Two procedures of the developed paraphrase are recognized by Quintilian: abbreviation and embellishment; the writer must take care to retain the sense of the original, but will vary its language and style. Although the paraphrase is included among the exercises to be taught by the *grammaticus*, it is an exercise that can extend even an expert; like Theon, Quintilian recognizes the versatility of the paraphrase.

The second passage (X 5,4-11) supplements the account given in the first book. The passage is too long to quote in full. Much of it is given over to refutation of the opinion (as expressed by Cicero in the *De Oratore*) that the paraphrase is a futile exercise. Quintilian restricts his discussion of this question to paraphrases of the orators; paraphrases from verse into prose he assumes to be self-evidently worthwhile.[42] In paraphrasing a passage of verse it is necessary to prune the redundancies of poetry and make explicit its elliptic expressions, while preserving the thought of the original: *ipsis sententiis adicere licet oratorium robur, et omissa supplere, effusa substringere* (X 5,4). The writer should not be content with mere *interpretatio*, that is, with stopping short after the second process of the paraphrase and producing a simple prose equivalent of the original,[43] but should rival and, if possible, surpass his model: *neque ego paraphrasin esse interpretationem tantum volo, sed circa eosdem*

[40] Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 2 vols. (Munich: Hueber, 1960), vol. 1, pp.530-31, gives a valuable analysis of the passages in Quintilian dealing with the paraphrase. My account follows his treatment in a number of respects.

[41] For the Latin word *interpretatio* see Reiff (above, n.17), esp. pp.91-94 and 104-107, and Manfred Fuhrmann, 'Interpretatio' (above, n.17), pp.80-97.

[42] X 5,4, *sed et illa ex Latinis conversio multum et ipsa contulerit. ac de carminibus quidem neminem credo dubitare, quo solo genere exercitationis dicitur usus esse Sulpicius.* The Sulpicius in question is the orator and jurist Servius Sulpicius Rufus (cos. 51 B.C.), a contemporary of Cicero (cf. X 1,116).

[43] K. Lehrs, *Die Pindarscholien: eine kritische Untersuchung zur philologischen Quellenkunde* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1873), pp.49-53, has called such paraphrases "grammatical," as opposed to "rhetorical" paraphrases, which show some pretensions to stylistic embellishment (more on this in the next chapter). The "grammatical" paraphrase was not a stylistic exercise, but an aid to the comprehension of poetic texts.

sensus certamen *atque* aemulationem (X 5,5). For this reason paraphrase of speeches is not only a possible, but a valuable exercise. Quintilian, like Theon, supports his argument by reference to the *innumerabiles modi* (X 5,7; cf. πάντας τοὺς τρόπους, 62.20 Sp.) in which the same thought may be expressed. The samples of *modi* given by Quintilian differ from those in Theon and are more comprehensive in scope. Most of the τρόποι of Theon would fall into Quintilian's category *figura declinata*. Quintilian lists three contrasting pairs; the first (*sua* brevitati *gratia, sua* copiae) is the most comprehensive and corresponds to the *breviare quaedam et exornare* of book one; the second and third contrast literal expression with the use of tropes (*alia tralatis virtus, alia propriis*) and direct expression with the figured (*hoc oratio recta, illud figura declinata commendat*). Both tropes and figures are means of securing *copia* (and less often *brevitas*). Presumably, the individual tropes and figures should be thought of as subsidiary *modi* of the larger categories given by Quintilian.

Quintilian, like Theon,[44] recommends paraphrasing one's own writing:

> nec aliena tantum transferre, sed etiam nostra pluribus modis tractare proderit, ut ex industria sumamus sententias quasdam easque versemus quam numerosissime, velut eadem cera aliae aliaeque formae duci solent. (X 5,9)
>
> It will be useful not only to paraphrase the works of others but also to treat our own writings in a variety of ways, that is, to choose certain sentiments with that purpose in mind, and rephrase them in as many ways as possible, just as different shapes are accustomed to be traced on the same wax.

The procedure here described resembles that followed by Sopater. Significantly, the original is to be recast in as many ways as possible (*quam numerosissime*). The subject chosen should be a simple one; a more complicated subject will be less of a test of the writer's powers since it will contain a greater diversity of incident. The aim of the exercise is to acquire a certain facility (*facultas*).[45] The true orator should have the ability to amplify what is small, give variety to what is similar and make attractive the commonplace: *illud virtutis indicium est, fundere quae natura contracta sunt, augere parva, varietatem similibus voluptatem expositis dare, et bene dicere multa de*

[44] 62.23-24 Sp., οὐ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων μεταπλάσσοντες.

[45] X 5,10, *plurimum autem parari facultatis existimo ex simplicissima quaque materia.*

paucis (X 5,11).[46] Verbal abundance, in the form of *amplificatio* and *variatio*, is emphasized. This is significant for the later development of the paraphrase. As a taste for fullness of expression grew, the paraphrase was increasingly valued as an exercise in *copia verborum*. Of Quintilian's two theoretical alternatives, to abbreviate or expand, the latter was very much stressed. The exercise envisaged here (X 5,9-11) differs from that first mentioned (X 5,4-8) in a number of respects (excluding the obvious difference of authorship of the original). The passage chosen should be simple and capable of being recast in many different ways: the implication is that it should also be fairly short – of an easily manageable length. There is no inherent reason why a passage from some other author should not be used, as is evident from Sopater's performance. Perhaps Quintilian felt that a passage specially constructed for the purpose was likely to be a better test of the orator's powers.

One further point is worth making. The exercises described in book ten of the *Institutio* are introduced by Quintilian (X 1,4) as the last stage in the young student's preparation for public life. But there is no doubt that they could also be of service to a practising orator. It is explicitly stated that that is true of declamations (X 5,14 and 17); the allusion to Sulpicius' devotion to the paraphrase (X 5,4) suggests that the paraphrase too was practised by mature orators. In addition, teachers of rhetoric would prepare sample exercises for their students. Quintilian refers to the difficulty the paraphrase might cause even *consummati professores* (I 9,3). Such continuing preoccupation with the exercise of the paraphrase naturally influenced methods of literary composition, especially when, as in late antiquity, originality of subject matter was not much prized. The exponent of the paraphrase acquired versatility and technical virtuosity in rehandling a preexisting written text.

[46] From the days of the sophists it had been recognized that the true orator should have the power to amplify or diminish a subject. W. Peterson, *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae, Liber Decimus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), p.158, note *ad loc.*, quotes Plato, *Phaedrus* 267a (of Tisias and Gorgias), τά τε αὖ σμικρὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μεγάλα σμικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦσιν διὰ ῥώμην λόγου; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 8, ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ λόγοι τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν φύσιν ὥσθ' οἷόν τ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι, καὶ τά τε μεγάλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μέγεθος περιθεῖναι; and Isocrates' definition of rhetoric as given by pseudo-Plutarch, βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων 838F τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα μικρὰ ποιεῖν. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 12,47 (of Gorgias), *iudicaret hoc oratoris esse maxime proprium, rem augere posse laudando vituperandoque rursus affligere.* From a later date see, for instance, Longinus, I 328.3-5 Sp., Julian, *Panegyric* 2c and other passages quoted by Stemplinger (above, n.1), p.128.

Pliny the Younger

Pliny, a student of Quintilian, refers to the paraphrase in a letter to the young orator, Fuscus Salinator:

> Nihil offuerit quae legeris hactenus, ut rem argumentumque teneas, quasi aemulum scribere lectisque conferre, ac sedulo pensitare, quid tu quid ille commodius. magna gratulatio si non nulla tu, magnus pudor si cuncta ille melius. licebit interdum et notissima eligere et certare cum electis. audax haec, non tamen improba, quia secreta contentio: quamquam multos videmus eius modi certamina sibi cum multa laude sumpsisse, quosque subsequi satis habebant, dum non desperant, antecessisse. (VII 9,3-4)
>
> There is no objection to your composing a rival version of a passage you have read to retain its subject and theme; and then comparing your version with the original, and carefully examining what you have done and what he has done better. It is a great reason for satisfaction if you excel in some respects, a reason for shame if he excels in everything. Sometimes you may select a very familiar passage and compete with your choice. This is daring, but not reprehensible, since the contest is secret. Nonetheless we see many who have undertaken contests of this kind with great credit, and in not losing heart they have even surpassed those whom they were content to follow.

The passage has been taken by Reiff to refer to the exercise of translation.[47] Pliny in the previous section (VII 9,2) has recommended translation from Greek into Latin or Latin into Greek as particularly useful (*utile in primis*). But the very contrast between *utile in primis* (beginning section 2) and *nihil offuerit* (beginning section 3) makes it clear that two distinct exercises are intended. The letter, in fact, bears a number of resemblances to Quintilian's teaching in book ten, especially the fifth chapter of that book.[48] The sequence of exercises is the same in both authors: translation (Quintilian X 5,2-3 = Pliny VII 9,2); paraphrase of another author's

[47] Reiff (above, n.17), pp.90-94.

[48] Both writers recommend the study of history, for an orator may need to adopt the fuller historical style on occasions (Pliny VII 9,8; Quintilian X 5,15), and both speak of poetry as a relaxation in rather similar language. Cf. also Quintilian X 5,15, *ne carmine quidem* ludere *contrarium fuerit, sicut athletae,* remissa *quibusdam temporibus ciborum atque exercitationum certa necessitate, otio et iucundioribus epulis reficiuntur*, and Pliny VII 9,9, *fas est et carmine* remitti, *non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest), sed hoc arguto et brevi, quod apte quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguit.* lusus *vocantur; sed hi lusus non minorem interdum gloriam quam seria consequuntur.*

Pliny (VII 9,15-16) also recommends reading authors in each literary genre. He does not give a list of appropriate reading, because, he says, the authors are sufficiently well known already. We need look no further than the first chapter of book ten of Quintilian's *Institutio* for such a list.

writings (X 5,4-8 = VII 9,3-4); paraphrase of one's own writings (X 5,9-11 = VII 9,5).[49] It is clear from the similarity between the two passages that Pliny here is speaking of the paraphrase; in that case both the original and the new version would be in the same language, and therefore easily comparable (cf. *lectisque conferre, ac sedulo pensitare, quid tu quid ille commodius*). Pliny gives few details of the procedure to be followed. The content and subject matter of the original are to be retained (cf. *ut rem argumentumque teneas*); variation will then be in arrangement (*dispositio*) and particularly style (*elocutio*). Pliny lays special emphasis on the importance of *aemulatio*: the urge to outdo the original.[50] The passage also provides evidence of the public dissemination of paraphrase literature, either by recitation or by circulation of the text. Apparently such works could win great acclaim, even if Pliny's attitude to their public dissemination is somewhat ambiguous. We are already on the way to a paraphrase literature independent of the schools. Finally, it should be noted that the addressee of the letter, the young orator Fuscus Salinator, had already begun his public career (*Ep.* VI 11).[51] Pliny does not hesitate to recommend the more advanced form of paraphrase to an orator already practising in the courts.

Other references

Other references to the paraphrase in rhetorical literature of the early second century contribute little to the overall picture. Suetonius (*Gram.* 4,3) includes the paraphrase in a list of *progymnasmata* taught by *grammatici*. More modern grammarians (*posteriores*) undertook to give instruction in such exercises in imitation of their predecessors (*veteres grammatici*), who taught both grammar and

[49] Pliny VII 9,5, *poteris et quae dixeris post oblivionem retractare, multa retinere plura transire, alia interscribere alia rescribere*. Pliny seems to be thinking rather of editorial revision and rewriting (διασκευή). But the procedure is closely related to the paraphrase (cf. Stemplinger [above, n.1], p.215). The best commentary on this passage of Pliny is provided by Galen, *In Hippocratis De victu acutorum* (120.5-8 Helmreich), quoted by Stemplinger, *loc. cit.*: ἐπιδιεσκευάσθαι λέγεται βιβλίον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ γεγραμμένῳ τὸ δεύτερον γραφέν, ὅταν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν ῥήσεων τὰς αὐτὰς τινὰ μὲν ἀφῃρημένα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου συγγράμματος ἔχῃ, τινὰ δὲ προσκείμενα, τινὰ δὲ ὑπηλλαγμένα. τινὰ μὲν ἀφῃρημένα corresponds to *plura transire*; τινὰ δὲ προσκείμενα to *alia interscribere*; and τινὰ δὲ ὑπηλλαγμένα to *alia rescribere*.

[50] Cf. *quasi* aemulum *scribere*; certare *cum electis*; *secreta* contentio; *eius modi* certamina. Quintilian also emphasizes *aemulatio* (X 5,5): *neque ego paraphrasin esse interpretationem tantum volo, sed circa eosdem sensus* certamen *atque* aemulationem.

[51] Cf. VI 11,1. For the dates of the letters in books six and seven see A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp.36-38.

rhetoric. Suetonius reports grammarians of his day were giving up this practice, although Quintilian's account tends to contradict this statement.[52] Evidently, in Suetonius' opinion these exercises should strictly be classified as rhetorical, not grammatical; they already involved an element of stylistic refinement, albeit of a very elementary level.[53] He clearly has in mind the simpler forms of paraphrase, discussed in Quintilian's first book (I 9,2). Dio of Prusa also mentions the paraphrase in the Περὶ λόγου ἀσκήσεως, but no specific instructions are given and the passage contributes nothing to the evidence already collected.[54]

At this point it will be appropriate to summarize what has been learnt about the paraphrase. All accounts agree that the essence of the exercise is to recast a given subject in different language: that is, to retain the content of an original while varying its form. Theorists may presuppose a fairly short passage (so Theon and the paraphrase of one's own writings described by Quintilian X 5,9-11) and emphasize the number of possible changes a single text can undergo (called by Theon τρόποι, by Quintilian *modi* and by later Greek writers σχήματα[55]). Alternatively, the exercise may be seen as a challenge to the writer to compose something better than the original (the concept of *aemulatio*). In that case it is not a matter of the greatest possible number of alterations in expression a single idea can undergo, but of the best possible expression an individual writer is capable of giving to a single idea (this is the kind of paraphrase Cicero, Quintilian – describing the paraphrase of verse, X 5,4-8 – and Pliny seem to have in mind). At its highest level the paraphrase can be a challenge even to mature masters of rhetoric; at its simplest it is

[52] Above, n.34.

[53] Cf. Colson's note on Quintilian I 9,1 *dicendi primordia*, an expression that implies the exercises here in question, although they may be properly taught by a *grammaticus*, strictly belong to rhetoric, not grammar.

[54] Dio XVIII 18.

[55] E.g. Hermogenes, *Prog.* 2 (4.21 Rabe). The use of the word σχήματα illustrates the close relationship between figures of speech and *modi tractandi*. There was always a tendency for figures to proliferate; consequently, they could easily become co-extensive with the *modi*. Cf. A.D. Leeman, *Orationis Ratio: The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators, Historians and Philosophers*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963), vol. 1, p.33: "The catalogue of the figures of speech is the most chaotic and controversial department of the ancient doctrine of style. There is no fixed borderline between what is, and what is not, a figure of speech. The term *figura* represents the Greek σχῆμα and in principle designates any 'form' of expression. Every work, every expression, every sentence can be said to have its own 'scheme.' In rhetoric the term is limited to the special, more or less striking 'schemes,' but this criterion is by its nature a subjective one."

an exercise at home even in the school of the *grammaticus*. Its purpose is to develop the rhetorician's skill in composition (his mastery of *dispositio* and *elocutio*). The doctrine of *modi* seems to have been developed as a response to the kind of criticism levelled at the paraphrase by Cicero. It came to provide a theoretical framework for the exercise. *Modi* might range from the general categories of expansion and abbreviation to specific application of individual figures of diction or thought.

The Post-Hadrianic Period

The only Latin rhetorical treatise to refer to the paraphrase is the *Ars Rhetorica* of Fortunatianus (fourth century). There the μετάφρασις is listed as one of four exercises by which *copia verborum* may be acquired.[56] But in the *Confessions* (I 17,27)[57] Augustine describes an exercise very like the paraphrase. The schoolboys were required to reproduce in prose the content of a passage of poetry. The theme chosen was Virgilian (*Aen.* I 37-49), Juno's anger and grief at being unable to keep the Trojans from Italy. It was important for the student to capture correctly the emotions of his subject, while preserving her divine dignity. The exercise in question should more strictly be termed an ethopoeia;[58] poetic subjects were commonly employed in such exercises.[59]

[56] *Ars Rhetorica* III 3 (144.12-15 Montefusco) quoted below p.67.

[57] The passage reads in full: *proponebatur enim mihi negotium animae meae satis inquietum praemio laudis et dedecoris vel plagarum metu, ut dicerem verba Iunonis irascentis et dolentis, quod non posset 'Italia Teucrorum avertere regem,' quae numquam Iunonem dixisse audieram. sed figmentorum poeticorum vestigia errantes sequi cogebamur et tale aliquid dicere solutis verbis, quale poeta dixisset versibus: et ille dicebat laudabilius, in quo pro dignitate adumbratae personae irae ac doloris similior affectus eminebat verbis sententias congruenter vestientibus* (20.27 - 21.10 Skutella).

[58] The ethopoeia is defined as μίμησις ἤθους ὑποκειμένου προσώπου (Hermogenes *Prog.* 9 [20.7-8 Rabe], and Aphthonius 11 [34.2-3 Rabe]). Its types are ἠθικαί, παθητικαί and μικταί (Hermogenes *Prog.* 9 [21.10-18 Rabe], and Aphthonius 11 [35.1-2 Rabe]). Theon calls this exercise prosopopoeia. Other rhetoricians limited the term prosopopoeia to speeches given by impersonal agencies or by the dead (Quintilian IX 2,31).

[59] Hermogenes suggests as proper subjects for ethopoeiae Andromache grieving for Hector and Achilles grieving for Patroclus (20.8-9 and 21.13-18 Rabe). Libanius' sample *progymnasmata* include exercises on both subjects (376-81 Foerster). A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus illustrates the close relationship of the paraphrase and ethopoeia (*P. Oxy.* 42, 3002). Its editor, P.J. Parsons, identifies the content as an ethopoeia based on *Il.* I 207-14, but goes on to say "the new text comes close to the alternative exercise of paraphrase"; *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 42, edited by P.J. Parsons (London: British Academy, 1974), p.13.

Theon's attempt to include the paraphrase among the canonical *progymnasmata* never really succeeded. The exercise loses its independent position in the Greek progymnasmatic literature after Theon. We may surmise that the inclusion of the paraphrase among the *progymnasmata* was felt to be an anomaly. The standard *progymnasmata* were defined by the subject they treated, the paraphrase was a technique that could be applied to the treatment of any subject. Paraphrase involved the expansion or abbreviation of a given text, more often, no doubt, the former, since verbal abundancy was particularly prized. In a sense, then, the *progymnasmata* could be subsumed under the genus paraphrase, since they all involved the stylistic elaboration of a predetermined subject.[60] The ethopoeia described by Augustine in the *Confessions* is a case in point.[61] In the West this anomalous situation is corrected.[62] The paraphrase is seen as an exercise of broader scope (and hence potentially more advanced) than the *progymnasmata*; it includes any exercise in the amplification or abbreviation of a given text. In the East the paraphrase continues to play a subsidiary role in progymnasmatic literature. A paraphrastic element was recognized by rhetoricians in

[60] Cf. Lausberg (above, n.40), vol. 1, p.532, "Die Übung in den *modi tractandi* bedarf eines stofflichen Vorwurfs. Einen Rahmen für stoffliche Vorwürfe gibt das System der ... προγυμνάσματα." H. Gärtner, 'Progymnasma', *Kleine Pauly* 4 (Munich, 1972), col. 1156, defines *progymnasma* as follows: "Progymnasma ... bezeichnet Übungen im Paraphrasieren bzw. Ausarbeiten vorgegebener Themen zum Zwecke der Erweiterung der Ausdrucksfähigkeit."

[61] Cf. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (1953; rpt., New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p.147. Maurice Testard, *Saint Augustin et Cicéron*, 2 vols. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1958), vol. 1, p.5, correctly identifies the exercise as an ethopoeia. The διήγημα (*narratio*) also contains a large element of paraphrase. Its subject would usually be a story from the poets. The master would tell the story to his students and they would have to retell it in their own words, using one of the *modi tractandi* (cf. Marrou [above, n.4], pp.173-74, and Jullien [above, n.4], pp.289-90; Hermogenes [4.21 - 5.2 Rabe] identifies five such σχήματα [*modi tractandi*]: ὀρθὸν ἀποφαντικόν, ἀποφαντικὸν ἐγκεκλιμένον, ἐλεγκτικόν, ἀσύνδετον, συγκριτικόν, and gives examples of each). Students might also be required to retell a fable, either in extended or abbreviated form (Hermogenes [2.11-12 Rabe]; cf. Quintilian I 9,2 and Lausberg [above, n.40], vol. 1, pp.533-34).

[62] Cicero, Quintilian (in book ten), Pliny and Fortunatianus all discuss the paraphrase apart from the other *progymnasmata*. Quintilian and Pliny recognize its value as an exercise for the advanced student and practising orator. The only discussion of the paraphrase in Greek authors of the first six centuries A.D. not included in a progymnasmatic treatise is that of Hermogenes in the Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος (24), where Hermogenes is thinking of paraphrase as a literary technique not a stylistic exercise.

the exercises of chreia[63] and *gnome*.[64] In both exercises the subject to be elaborated was quite brief: a maxim, action or remark of a moral nature. The chreia differed from a *gnome* in being associated with a particular person and including actions as well as words.[65] The student was trained to elaborate this meagre material under various heads (ἐργασία). The second category of expansion in both cases consisted of an extended paraphrase of the original text (πλατύνων τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, Hermogenes 7.17-18 Rabe; *latius eum interpretari* in Priscian's translation, 553.14 Halm).[66] Many of the references to the paraphrase in Byzantine texts occur in commentaries to Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*. They enlarge upon the category τὸ παραφραστικόν found in his treatment of the *gnome* and the chreia.

Another treatise attributed to Hermogenes, the Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, contains a discussion of the paraphrase. This work, too, was commented on in the Byzantine period.[67] The chapter dealing with the paraphrase (24) is headed Περὶ τοῦ λεληθότως τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἢ ἑαυτῷ ἢ ἄλλοις: the ability to repeat your own or another's words unobtrusively is considered a mark of rhetorical expertise.[68]

[63] Hermogenes (6.4-6 Rabe) defines the chreia as follows: χρεία ἐστὶν ἀπομνημόνευμα λόγου τινὸς ἢ πράξεως ἢ συναμφοτέρου σύντομον ἔχον δήλωσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον χρησίμου τινὸς ἕνεκα. The chreia was used at two levels in a student's education. At an elementary level it might provide material for an exercise in the declension of a noun; at a more advanced level it might be expanded into a thorough reworking, or ἐργασία, much like the elaborate *expolitio* (*plurimis commutationibus*) of the *Rhet. ad Her.* (IV 43,56); cf. Jullien (above, n.4), pp.287-89, who cites an example of the simpler form of chreia. The papyri also contain such a chreia (Pack 2.2711, Zalateo 222, Ziebarth [above, n.39], 37, cf. Beudel [above, n.39], pp.50-51). What follows will concern only the more difficult exercise.

[64] The *gnome* is defined by Hermogenes (8.16-18 Rabe) as follows: γνώμη ἐστὶ λόγος κεφαλαιώδης ἐν ἀποφάνσει καθολικῇ ἀποτρέπων τι ἢ προτρέπων ἐπί τι ἢ ὁποῖον ἕκαστόν ἐστι δηλῶν; cf. Aphthonius (7.2-3 Rabe).

[65] Hermogenes (6.22 - 7.6): γνώμης δὲ διαφέρει (sc. χρεία) ... τῷ τὴν μὲν χρείαν καὶ ἐν πράξεσιν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ γνώμην ἐν λόγοις μόνον· καὶ πάλιν τῷ τὴν μὲν χρείαν τὸ πεποιηκὸς πρόσωπον ἔχειν ἢ εἰρηκός, τὴν δὲ γνώμην ἄνευ προσώπου λέγεσθαι; cf. Aphthonius (8.7-10 Rabe). For the distinction between the fable and chreia (and their similarities) see Ben E. Perry, 'Fable', *Studium Generale* 12 (1959), pp.18-19.

[66] The divisions are, in Aphthonius' terminology: ἐγκωμιαστικόν, παραφραστικόν, τὸ τῆς αἰτίας, ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, παραβολή, παραδείγμα, μαρτυρία παλαιῶν, ἐπίλογος.

[67] By John the Deacon, Rabe, 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften', pp.127-51, and Gregory of Corinth, Walz VII, pp.1090-1352. For these commentaries see above, n.1. There are good reasons to doubt the genuineness of the Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος: cf. Rademacher, 'Hermogenes', *RE* 8 (Stuttgart, 1913), coll. 872-73, Rabe, in his edition, pp.ix-xii, and Emil Bürgi, 'Ist die dem Hermogenes zugeschriebene Schrift Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος echt I', *WS* 48 (1930), pp.187-97, and 'II', *WS* 49 (1931), pp.40-69.

[68] The term δεινότης is translated "oratorical mastery" by Roberts (above, n.23), p.294. In fact, the term δεινότης plays no significant role in the treatise as a whole (cf. Bürgi, 'II', pp.52-55, and 61-63).

Hermogenes gives examples from deliberative, judicial and epideictic oratory to demonstrate that the great orators of the past possessed this ability.

In what follows I shall consider this Greek material under two headings: i) definition, and ii) modes of paraphrase.

Definition

Hermogenes' Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος is concerned with the techniques a successful orator must master. His definition of the paraphrase – λεληθότως τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν (440.6 Rabe) – reflects this concern. An orator on occasions has to repeat himself; it is important to do so without being too obvious. Later Byzantine commentators are less concerned with the practice of oratory and their definitions of the paraphrase are equally applicable to the school exercise. Georgius Choeroboscus (III 251.17-18 and 21 Sp.),[69] one of a number of authors who attempt to distinguish between the παράφρασις and μετάφρασις,[70] defines both generically as ἡ ἐναλλαγὴ τῶν λέξεων κατὰ τὸ πόσον ("the quantitative variation of the wording"). John of Sardis, the ninth-century author of a commentary on Aphthonius, adopts a definition of the paraphrase which became standard in later centuries: παράφρασις δέ ἐστιν ἑρμηνείας ἀλλοίωσις τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν φυλάττουσα, "paraphrase is the variation of style with the retention of sense" (64.23 - 65.2 Rabe). The same or a similar definition was given by Doxopatres (eleventh century) and in the sixteenth-century lexicon of Phavorinus.[71] All commentators agree that the essence of the paraphrase is stylistic variation of a predetermined subject.[72] In a speech repetition of

[69] Περὶ τρόπων ποιητικῶν, 14. For his date see Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Müllers Handbuch, vol. 9.1, 2nd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1897), pp.583-84.

[70] In practice the use of the two words does not conform to the distinctions made by theorists; cf. below, nn.74 and 75, and Stemplinger (above, n.1), p.118, n.2.

[71] Doxopatres, 'Ρητορικαὶ ὁμιλίαι εἰς τὰ τοῦ 'Αφθονίου Προγυμνάσματα: τὴν δὲ παράφρασιν εἶναι βούλονται ἑρμηνείας ἀλλοίωσιν (II 270.4-5 Walz). Phavorinus, Λεξικόν: Μετάφρασις, ἑρμηνείας ἀλλοίωσις, τὴν αὐτὴν φυλάττουσα διάνοιαν. For this work see Krumbacher (above, n.69), p.577. Compare also the anonymous scholia to Aphthonius published by Walz (II 590.29-31): ἡ παράφρασις γυμνάζει εἰς τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ διαφόρως δύνασθαι ἀπαγγέλλειν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ. Theon had already emphasized unobtrusive variation of expression: τῇ δὲ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ποικιλίᾳ λανθάνει τοὺς ἀκούοντας (64.3-4 Sp.).

[72] Cf. John of Sardis (65.3-5 Rabe): δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὕτω ταύτην προφέρειν, οὔτε τοῦ λεχθέντος ἢ πραχθέντος ἀφισταμένους οὔτε ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς τῶν λέξεων μένοντας, and Σχόλια εἰς τὰ τοῦ 'Αφθονίου Προγυμνάσματα (II 590.31-33 Walz): τοιαύτη δέ τις ὀφείλει εἶναι, οἷον μήτε ἀφισταμένη τοῦ προκειμένου, μήτε ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν λέξεων ἀκριβῶς μένουσα.

subject matter should be unobtrusive; in a school exercise a similar requirement is out of place.

Modes of the Paraphrase

Hermogenes (440.8-13 Rabe) identifies two basic forms of paraphrase (διπλῆ μέθοδος): the order of the original may be changed or its length (ἢ γὰρ τὴν τάξιν μεταβάλλεις ... ἢ τὸ μέτρον). In the latter case the original may be shortened or lengthened (corresponding to Quintilian's *et breviare quaedam et exornare*, I 9,2).[73] The commentators on Hermogenes, John the Deacon and Gregory of Corinth, naturally adopt this distinction. Georgius Choeroboscus and Doxopatres, however, consider only the second possibility of variation, variation in length; neither writer is concerned with passages of sufficient extent to permit variation in order. Their major concern is to distinguish between the rhetorical terms παράφρασις, μετάφρασις, ἔκφρασις, ἀντίφρασις and περίφρασις. The term μετάφρασις is rather arbitrarily assigned to a paraphrase that is rhetorically elaborated (μετὰ ῥητορικοῦ κάλλους γινομένη, Georgius Choeroboscus III 251.19 Sp.), in contrast to the παράφρασις, which involves no elaboration or abbreviation of the original, but simply a change in the wording.[74] Although two distinct forms of paraphrase can clearly be identified (corresponding to Quintilian's *interpretatio* and *audacius vertere*, I 9,2), in practice the terms μετάφρασις and παράφρασις were used interchangeably. John of Sardis expressly denies any distinction in sense.[75]

According to both John the Deacon and Gregory of Corinth the abbreviation or expansion of an original is achieved by application of the σχήματα (i.e. *modi*; the commentaries of John the Deacon and Gregory of Corinth are identical in many passages and derive from a common source).[76] Both cite passages from Sopater's Μεταποιήσεις to support their doctrine. Gregory of Corinth also introduces an example from Christian literature of ἡ τῶν σχημάτων μεταβολή, Gregory Nazianzen's panegyric of the Maccabees (*PG* 35, 924B) as a version of Homer, *Iliad* XII 322-28, a much paraphrased passage.[77] The similarity of content is not very great; it hardly extends beyond the general sentiment expressed. The Homeric passage employs the antithetical schema (τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ σχήματι), Gregory the interrogative (τῷ κατ' ἐρώτησιν, VII 1293.23-25 Walz). One other type of paraphrase is recognized by the commentators on Hermogenes, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσαφεστέρου ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον (John the Deacon, 141.8-9 Rabe = Gregory of Corinth, VII 1294.3-4 Walz). Themistius' paraphrases of Aristotle are cited as examples. It is evident that the paraphrase could be a useful exegetical tool, whether as a stylistically simple rewriting of authors whose vocabulary was no longer understood (as often in the case of Homer), or as a work with literary pretensions of its own (for instance, the paraphrase of the *Odyssey* by Demosthenes Thrax[78]).

Greek rhetoricians of late antiquity and beyond continued to demonstrate familiarity with the paraphrase as traditionally practised in the rhetorical schools. In a few minor respects they even expanded on the classical theory (for instance by the addition of τάξεως μεταβολή as one of the basic *modi* of the paraphrase), or made explicit some of the implications of that theory: the distinction between a paraphrase worked up with rhetorical embellishment (μετὰ ῥητορικοῦ κάλλους) and a simple word-for-word recasting (Quintilian's *interpretatio*) is a case in point. Although the paraphrase lost its place in the canon of *progymnasmata*, there is no reason to suppose that schools abandoned the teaching of paraphrastic procedures. Many *progymnasmata* contained large elements of the paraphrase; Hermogenes recognized how useful a mastery of its techniques could be for the orator and later commentators appreciated its value as an exegetical tool. In the light of the regard in

[73] Hermogenes refines this doctrine still further; variation in length is appropriate to all kinds of oratory, variation in order is appropriate only to judicial oratory.

[74] The passage in Choeroboscus is not entirely clear (παράφρασις δὲ ἡ ἐναλλαγὴ τῶν λέξεων κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς 'τὸ μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά', παραφράζων εἶπε, τὴν ὀργὴν εἶπε ὦ Μοῦσα [III 251.20-24 Sp.]), but from the example it seems that Choeroboscus means to make the same distinction as is found in Doxopatres (II 269.26 - 270.2 Walz), with Rabe's addition (reported by A. Brinkmann [above, n.1], p.619, n.1): ἡ δὲ μετάφρασις διττή ἐστιν· ἢ γὰρ τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀνηγμένα μεταβάλλει εἰς τὰ εὐτελῆ καὶ ταπεινά, ὡς ἡ τῶν τοῦ Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδων μετάφρασις, ἢ τοὐναντίον τὰ εὐτελῆ μεταβάλλει εἰς ὑψηλότερα ... παράφρασις δέ ἐστι τὸ τὰ εἰρημένα μεταβάλλειν εἰς ἕτερα μήτε εὐτελέστερα, μήτε ὑψηλότερα, ἀλλ' ἴσα, καὶ τὰς μὲν λέξεις μόνας ἐξαλλάττειν, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἑτέρας ὁμοίας τιθέναι, τὸν δὲ νοῦν τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττειν.

[75] παράφρασις δέ ἐστιν ἑρμηνείας ἀλλοίωσις τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν φυλάττουσα. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ μετάφρασις προσαγορεύεται (64.23 - 65.2 Rabe). Theon refers to the exercise in question as παράφρασις (62.10 and 23 Sp.), but introduces his first example as follows: Ὅμηρον μεταφράζων ... ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος; cf. also Stemplinger (above, n.1), p.118, n.2.

[76] ἡ τῶν σχημάτων μεταβολή, John the Deacon (143.2 Rabe), μεταποιεῖ κατὰ τὰ σχήματα, Gregory of Corinth (VII 1294.15 Walz). For the relationship between Gregory of Corinth and John the Deacon see Rabe, 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften' (above, n.27), pp.130-32.

[77] For other paraphrases of this passage see A. Brinkmann (above, n.1), pp.620-23.

[78] Cf. Lehrs (above, n.43), p.51, and below, p.57.

which the paraphrase was held, we can have no doubt of its continued importance in the curriculum; the Μεταποιήσεις of Sopater suggests one form such an exercise might take. At least one rhetorician includes examples of the paraphrase in his Τέχνη ῥητορική (of *Il.* I 1-43 and *Od.* IX 425-36), though without any theoretical explanation or justification (ps.-Aristides, 68.7 - 70.13 Schmid).[79] It is evident that a mastery of its techniques was regarded as indispensable to the complete orator. A number of paraphrases survive from late antiquity either as separate literary works or incorporated into larger compositions; still more are known of at second hand. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the West the situation is the same, although in the absence of any original progymnasmatic literature the theory of the paraphrase is not further developed. Only Fortunatianus refers to the paraphrase (which he calls μετάφρασις) – as an exercise in the acquisition of *copia verborum*. Priscian's *Praeexercitamina*, though not an independent work, was important in transmitting the Greek progymnasmatic tradition to the Latin Middle Ages.[80] And indeed there is every reason to believe that in respect of the paraphrase, as in respect of rhetoric in general, the traditional education continued in late antiquity. Not even the crisis of the third century seems to have broken the continuity of grammatical and rhetorical teaching.[81]

The present chapter was introduced as an attempt to discover: i) the nature and function of the paraphrase; and ii) its characteristic procedures. From the discussion it has become clear that ancient theory recognized a number of types of paraphrase of varying

[79] The work is attributed to Aelius Aristides, but is spurious; cf. Wilhelm Schmid (ed.), *Aristidis qui feruntur libri rhetorici*, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1926), pp.iii-iv.

[80] Cf. Curtius, 'Zur Literarästhetik des Mittelalters III', *ZRPh* 58 (1938), pp.448-49, and *European Literature*, pp.442-43.

[81] Cf. Manfred Fuhrmann (above, ch. 1, n.9), p.71. For the development of the *artes liberales*, of which grammar and rhetoric were the first two and most important subjects, see Friedmar Kühnert, *Allgemeinbildung und Fachbildung in der Antike*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, 30 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961). Henri Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, 4th ed. (Paris: Boccard, 1958), and Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne Wisigothique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1959), esp. vol. 1, pp.27-337, consider the attitudes of two important figures of late antiquity to the *artes liberales* in general and grammar and rhetoric in particular. Marrou, p.4, characterizes the culture of the fourth century as "une culture essentiellement littéraire, fondée sur la grammaire et la rhétorique et tendant à réaliser le type idéal de l'orateur." The question of the continuity of the paraphrastic tradition in the West is discussed more fully in chapter 4.

degrees of difficulty (the types of paraphrase will be discussed more fully in the next chapter). For present purposes we will concentrate on the developed rhetorical paraphrase, as described by Cicero, Quintilian X 5,4-8, and Pliny. As already noted, all authorities agree that the essence of the paraphrase is to express a given subject in different words; that is, it involves variation in form rather than content. It is important that the writer not deviate from the sense of the original (Quintilian I 9,2 and the standard Byzantine definition of the paraphrase: παράφρασις ... ἐστιν ἑρμηνείας ἀλλοίωσις τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν φυλάττουσα, John of Sardis, 64.23 - 65.2 Rabe). The aim of the writer is to rival and, if possible, surpass his model (i.e. *aemulatio*: Quintilian X 5,5; Pliny VII 9,3-4). Three basic modes of the paraphrase are identified: abbreviation and elaboration (corresponding to *elocutio*: Quintilian I 9,2 and X 5,4; Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος [440.8-13 Rabe]) and transposition (corresponding to *dispositio*: Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος [440.8-12 Rabe]). Of the three modes only that of elaboration is further developed. Quintilian (X 5,8 and 11) touches on the characteristic methods of paraphrastic amplification: the embellishment of the original by the incorporation of tropes, figures and the modes of the sentence (*ornatus*); the variation of similar subject matter (*varietas/variatio*); and above all the employment of verbal abundance (*copia verborum*). We shall see that the biblical poets employ all three modes of the paraphrase. The motive of *aemulatio*, the desire to improve on the biblical original, is strongly at work in the biblical paraphrases. Each paraphrase can be seen as an attempt to improve, in one way or another, on the biblical text.

All the references to the paraphrase in ancient literature have now been discussed. But the picture is not complete until the paraphrase is located in the broader context of classical theories of literary imitation and composition.[82] Both Theon (62.21ff. Sp.) and Hermogenes (441.2ff. Rabe) draw attention to the part played by ταυτολογία (τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν) in independent works of literature. An author will often rehandle a subject that has already been treated by another writer. Such reworking became a recognized means of literary composition. The practice goes back to the first formulation

[82] Stemplinger's book, often cited already (above, n.1), *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur*, contains much valuable material on this subject. Cf. also Wijkström (above, n.1), and, particularly for the sophists and Isocrates, Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), vol. 1, pp.15-155.

of rhetorical theory by the sophists. Gorgias, we know, was proud of his ability to enlarge or diminish a subject by the power of his oratory.[83] But it was Isocrates, the pupil of Gorgias, who established many of the basic principles of ancient literary theory.[84] One of these principles is the primacy of form over content. Originality of expression was prized above originality of invention:

> Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰ μὲν μηδαμῶς ἄλλως οἷόν τ' ἦν δηλοῦν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ μιᾶς ἰδέας, εἶχεν ἄν τις ὑπολαβεῖν, ὡς περίεργόν ἐστι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις λέγοντα πάλιν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ λόγοι τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν φύσιν ὥσθ' οἷόν τ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι, καὶ τά τε μεγάλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μέγεθος περιθεῖναι, καὶ τά τε παλαιὰ καινῶς διελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγενημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι φευκτέον ταῦτ' ἐστί, περὶ ὧν ἕτεροι πρότερον εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν πειρατέον. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πράξεις αἱ προγεγενημέναι κοιναὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατελείφθησαν, τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ ταύταις καταχρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα περὶ ἑκάστης ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἴδιόν ἐστιν. (*Panegyricus* 7-9)

> In addition if there were only one possible form in which each action could be expressed, it might be supposed pointless to bother the audience again by speaking to them in the same manner. But it is in the nature of language that it is possible to set forth the same subject in many different ways, to make the lofty humble and to lend greatness to what is small, to describe old material in a modern way and to give the patina of age to what has recently happened. Therefore we should not avoid what others have spoken on before, but try to outdo our predecessors. For past actions are the common inheritance of all of us, while their timely use, appropriate formulation and proper verbal expression are the private domain of the cultivated.

This passage is of programmatic importance for later theory. A number of ideas expressed in it have already been encountered in Theon's and Quintilian's arguments for the value of the paraphrase as a rhetorical exercise. A single subject (πρᾶξις) is not restricted to one form of expression, but can be expressed in many ways (περὶ τῶν

[83] Above, n.46; the *Helen* of Gorgias reworked familiar poetic subjects. A conversation reported by Xenophon (*Memorabilia* IV 4,6) between Socrates and the sophist Hippias illustrates the latter's pride in being able to give a fresh turn to a familiar subject.

[84] By ancient literary theory I do not mean to imply that there was a single undifferentiated body of opinion common to all rhetorical theorists. But, as illustrated by the present discussion, there are certain recurrent principles that can be traced back to the teaching of Isocrates and the sophists which were transmitted by the rhetorical treatises of the late Republic and early Empire to late antiquity.

αὐτῶν πολλαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι: cf. Theon, 62.10ff. Sp. and Quintilian X 5,5-7); an orator may magnify or diminish his subject, may treat an old subject in a new way or a new one in an old way. The reworking of an old subject is motivated by ζῆλος (*aemulatio*), the desire to surpass a predecessor (ἄμεινον ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν πειρατέον: cf. Quintilian X 5,5 and Pliny VII 9,3-4). So Isocrates' *Helen* was intended as an improvement on his master Gorgias' speech on the same subject.[85] A consequence of this attitude is that subjects, once expressed, become the common property of all (αἱ ... πράξεις αἱ προγεγενημέναι κοιναὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατελείφθησαν).[86] An individual puts his own private stamp on common subject matter by the manner in which he develops that subject and the style in which it is expressed. Horace develops a similar theory in the *Ars Poetica*:

> Publica materies privati iuris erit, si
> non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem
> nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
> interpres nec desilies imitator in artum,
> unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex. (*AP* 131-35)

> A public subject will become private property if you do not idle round the common and open ground nor strive to render word for word like a faithful translator or get yourself in a fix, a cramped imitator, afraid to put a foot wrong out of diffidence or respect for the laws of the genre.

Horace's use of the word *interpres* corresponds to the use of *interpretari* in Quintilian's description of the second stage of the paraphrase (I 9,2).[87] Just as in Quintilian, *interpretatio* denotes a literal word-for-word version of a text. By implication Horace recommends a second, freer, type of *imitatio*, that is not afraid to deviate from the wording of the original. The scheme coincides with

[85] Cf. Norden (above, n.82), vol. 1, p.116, and Georg Fraustadt, *Encomiorum in litteris Graecis usque ad Romanam aetatem historia*, diss. (Leipzig, 1909), pp.47-48. On this "Prinzip der Verbesserung" see also Stemplinger (above, n.1), pp.152-58.

[86] Cf. Stemplinger, pp.126-27. He also quotes Seneca, *Ep.* 79,6, speaking of the frequently treated theme Mt. Etna: *nec illis manus inicit tamquam alienis; sunt enim publica*, and Symmachus, in a letter to Ausonius: *cum semel a te profectum carmen est, ius omne posuisti. oratio publicata res libera est* (*Ep.* I 31,2). Cf. Macrobius *Saturnalia* VI 1,5: *societas et rerum communio poetis scriptoribusque omnibus inter se exercenda concessa est* (quoted by Reiff [above, n.17], p.119).

[87] For this Horatian passage see Reiff, pp.69-73, and C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963-1982), vol. 2, pp.208-12. It is interesting that the antithesis *publica/privati* is already found in Isocrates (κοιναί/ἴδιον). Brink cites a number of parallels, but they are all later than the Isocrates passage.

the two types of paraphrase. Evidently, the theory of the paraphrase is influenced by and included in a broader theory of imitation that goes back to Isocrates.

The influence of Isocrates' theories can be detected in subsequent literary practice. The didactic poets of the Hellenistic period frequently depended on earlier prose treatises;[88] writers of historical epic looked to historians to provide their raw material.[89] But it was on historiography that Isocrates had the greatest influence, especially through Timaeus of Tauromenium, who studied rhetoric at Athens under one of Isocrates' pupils, Philiscus. It is significant that Timaeus is criticized by Polybius (XII 25h3) for dependence on book learning, βιβλιακὴ ἕξις. The Isocratean historian emphasized not original research but the rhetorical finish he gave to his work, the stylistic embellishment of his sources.[90] Isocratean canons of historiography became popular in Rome during the Gracchan period and influenced Cicero and Livy.[91] Cicero's description of history as an *opus oratorium maxime* (*De Leg.* I 2,5) is entirely in the Isocratean tradition; Livy's reference at the beginning of his *Preface* (*Praef.* 2) to writers who claim to surpass the primitive style of their predecessors similarly reflects Isocratean values.

A corollary of Isocratean literary theory is that artistic composition involves the "highly conscious and deliberate application of literary devices"[92] to a stylistically simple prose text, a procedure

[88] Aratus used a treatise or treatises of Eudoxus of Cnidos (fourth century) for his *Phaenomena*, Nicander the writings of Alexander the Iologus (early third century) for the *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, vol. 2, 1, pp.163-70, and Hermann Schneider, *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur sprachlichen Struktur der beiden erhaltenen Lehrgedichte des Nikander von Kolophon*, Klassisch-philologische Studien 24 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), who discusses Nicander's use of his prose original; cf. esp. p.3, "es sich hier um die poetische Metaphrase wissenschaftlicher Stoffe handelt." In addition, Callimachus took the tale of Acontius and Cydippe from the fifth-century logographer Xenomedes of Ceos (*Aetia* fr. 75,54 Pfeiffer). Such procedures are not unknown before the sophists: Acusilaus of Argos is said to have recast Hesiod's genealogical verse into prose (Schmid-Stählin, 1, pp.283 and 708-709).

[89] E.g. the poetry of Rhianus of Crete (third century) and the κτίσεις poetry of Apollonius Rhodius.

[90] A.H. McDonald, 'The Roman Historians', in Maurice Platnauer, ed., *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), p.467, characterizes Isocratean methods as follows: "History was an *opus oratorium*, in which the historian should apply rhetorical rules to the presentation of his subject matter. The material would normally be collected for him – in the form of memoirs – and his professional duty was to interpret the facts and describe them in formal literary fashion so as to make them easily intelligible to his reader."

[91] Ibid., p.467.

[92] Quoted from Leeman (above, n.55), vol. 1, p.14.

similar to that of the developed rhetorical paraphrase. Even Virgil, so Suetonius records, composed the first draft of the *Aeneid* in prose before proceeding to turn it into verse.[93] Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 48) describes this process in the context of historiography:

> πρῶτα μὲν ὑπόμνημά τι συνυφαινέτω αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν πραγμάτων) καὶ σῶμα ποιείτω ἀκαλλὲς ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον· εἶτα ἐπιθεὶς τὴν τάξιν ἐπαγέτω τὸ κάλλος καὶ χρωννύτω τῇ λέξει καὶ σχηματιζέτω καὶ ῥυθμιζέτω.
>
> Let an outline first be composed of the material, and let its form be unadorned and without articulation. Then introduce order, add beauty, colour of language, figures and rhythm.

Lucian recommends two stages of composition, corresponding to the two forms of the paraphrase.

The Roman equivalent of the ὑπόμνημα is generally said to be the *commentarius*.[94] But the commentaries of Caesar on the Gallic and Civil Wars and of Cicero on his consulship, which are often cited as examples, are not as stylistically simple as Lucian's description of the ὑπόμνημα would lead one to expect. Cicero's *commentarius* was sent first to Posidonius and then to L. Lucceius for working up into a history.[95] Caesar's work, at least in the judgement of Cicero,[96] was intended to supply source material for later historians (*dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam*); it was bare of all ornament (*nudi ... omni ornatu orationis ... detracta*), but such was the charm of its *pura et inlustris brevitas* that only a fool would try to improve on it. Although it lacked rhetorical embellishment, it was not without a certain literary finish.[97] Lucian's description of the ὑπόμνημα as a σῶμα ἀκαλλὲς ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον applies with even less accuracy to the *commentarius* Cicero sent to Posidonius.[98] Cicero, writing to Atticus (*Ad Att.* II 1,1), reports that

[93] *Vita Vergili* 23, *Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit.*

[94] On the whole subject of the relationship between *commentarius* and ὑπόμνημα and the relevance of the Lucianic reference to earlier historiographical methods see Franz Bömer, 'Der Commentarius: zur Vorgeschichte und literarischen Form der Schriften Caesars', *Hermes* 81 (1953), pp.210-50.

[95] *Ad Att.* II 1,1-2; *Ad Fam.* V 12; the second *commentarius* sent to Lucceius extended beyond the year of his consulship; cf. Bömer, pp.236-41.

[96] *Brutus* 75,262.

[97] For conflicting views on the literary character of Caesar's *Commentaries* see Frank E. Adcock, *Caesar as Man of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp.6-18, and T.A. Dorey, 'Caesar: The 'Gallic War'', in *Latin Historians*, ed. T.A. Dorey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp.66-69.

[98] Cf. Bömer (above, n.95), pp.237-38.

he had lavished on it every possible rhetorical embellishment.[99] But the fact remains that the stylistic reworking of a previous written account was a recognized procedure in ancient historiography and in ancient literature in general.[100] It was not necessary for the earlier account to be totally without literary pretensions. The embellishment of a stylistically simple text was not the only possibility of variation recognized by the ancient doctrine of *modi*. However, a simple prose account often must have provided the underlying framework for a finished literary creation, whether that underlying account was by another author or prepared by the writer himself as a preliminary step in the process of composition.[101]

The Isocratean preference for form over content is shared by Roman rhetoricians. In rhetorical teaching the identification of the proper subject matter belonged to *inventio*, its embodiment in literary form to *elocutio*. According to Cicero it was in this second process that the true merit of an orator lay:[102]

> Itaque cum haec duo nobis quaerenda sint in causis, primum quid, deinde quo modo dicamus, alterum, quod totum arte tinctum videtur, tametsi artem requirit, tamen prudentiae est paene mediocris quid dicendum sit videre; alterum est, in quo oratoris vis illa divina virtusque cernitur, ea, quae dicenda sunt, *ornate*, *copiose varieque* dicere. (*De Or.* II 27,120)
>
> And so in our lawsuits there are two things we must decide, first what to say, then how to say it. The former, which seems to be a highly technical affair, does, it is true, need some skill, but in fact it requires quite moderate intelligence to see what must be said. It is the latter in which the divine force and power of a speaker is detected, to say what must be said with ornament, amplitude and variety.

The triad of ornament, amplification (cf. *copiose*) and variation appears again in a later passage of the *De Oratore*:

> Primum silva rerum comparanda est . . .; haec formanda filo ipso et

[99] *Totum Isocrati myrothecium atque omnis eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit.*

[100] Cf. Leeman (above, n.55), vol. 1, pp.78-81, for an interesting example of this process. The two historians involved are Claudius Quadrigarius and Livy.

[101] The latter alternative is what Lucian has in mind and may account for the discrepancy between his description of the ὑπόμνημα and the *commentarii* produced by Cicero and Caesar. Neither Roman author, at the time they wrote their *commentarii*, intended to work them up into full-scale histories themselves.

[102] Cf. above, n.14. Quintilian held a similar view (VIII 3,89): *sed vis oratoris omnis in augendo minuendoque consistit*. Isocrates expresses a similar preference for manner of expression over originality of content in the passage quoted (*Panegyricus* 10); cf. also Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 51, οὐ τί εἴπωσι ζητητέον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὅπως εἴπωσιν.

> genere orationis, inluminanda verbis, *varianda* sententiis. summa autem laus eloquentiae est *amplificare rem ornando*, quod valet non solum ad augendum aliquid et tollendum altius dicendo sed etiam ad extenuandum atque abiciendum. (III 26,103-104)
>
> First a body of material must be collected . . . This must then be shaped in accordance with the style and type of speech, invested with brilliance of language and varied with reflections. But the greatest glory of oratory is to amplify a subject with ornamentation, a method suited not only to enhancing and elevating something by speech but also to diminishing and disparaging it.

Cicero's concept of the process of literary composition is clearly expressed in this passage. The first step is to compile a rough body of material on which the orator is to work. This is the process of *inventio*. The orator then sets to reworking and refining this raw material (*elocutio*). It is this step which makes most demands on the writer and which alone confers real literary distinction on a work. It may involve the careful selection of vocabulary and the judicious use of philosophical reflections (*sententiae*).[103] But above all it is by the proper use of amplification and ornamentation[104] that an author achieves his finest effects. Only thereby can an orator give emotional force to his arguments.

It will be clear by now that rhetorical theory affords no precise distinction between the developed rhetorical paraphrase and an original literary composition. The latter may involve the stylistic embellishment of a preexisting text. In such a case it differs only in degree from the paraphrase (i.e. in degree of fidelity to its original). Paraphrastic theory emphasizes the importance of retaining the sense of the original; the theory of literary composition legitimizes

[103] Cf. *De Or.* I 8,31: *quid est . . . tam iucundum cognitu atque auditu, quam sapientibus sententiis gravibusque verbis ornata oratio et polita?* For *sententiae* see Lausberg (above, n.40), vol. 1, pp.431-34.

[104] The concepts of *amplificatio* (*augere*) and *ornatus* are frequently mentioned in the same breath by ancient theorists (e.g. *Rhet. ad Her.* II 29,46; *De Or.* I 21,94; 51,221; II 19,80; 72,292; 77,312; *Or.* 36,125; Quintilian VIII 6,40). *Ornatus* and *amplificatio* were especially characteristic of epideictic oratory: Quintilian III 7,6, *proprium laudis est res amplificare et ornare*, and the other passages quoted by Theodore C. Burgess, 'Epideictic Literature', *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* 3 (1902), p.105, n.3. *Amplificatio* seems to have been thought of sometimes as a subdivision of rhetorical *ornatus* (e.g. Cicero *Or.* 36,125 and Quintilian VIII 4) – and therefore rather a matter of style, *elocutio* – sometimes as an element of *inventio*. Josef Martin, *Antike Rhetorik: Technik und Methode*, Müllers Handbuch, vol. 2.3 (Munich: Beck, 1974), discusses the passage in Quintilian under the heading *inventio* (pp.153-58) and the heading *elocutio* (pp.255-57). In the classical theorists verbal abundance is one of a number of forms of amplification. In practice, especially in epideictic and poetry, it comes to predominate.

the reworking of traditional material, but does not exclude the invention of new subject matter. It is characteristic of the paraphrase to retain (in outline at least) the narrative sequence of the original and incorporate new material only when that material can be justified as stylistic elaboration and amplification. At the same time, the emphasis put on stylistic refinement in an original literary composition, in particular on those techniques characteristic of the rhetorically developed paraphrase, must have encouraged the dissemination of paraphrases in the wider literary community.[105] The biblical epics are a case in point. They combine the broad fidelity to their original characteristic of the paraphrase with the stylistic elaboration typical of literary composition in general.

[105] The *progymnasmata*, also exercises in stylistic amplification, were often incorporated into larger literary compositions. For *descriptiones* in the elder Seneca, Ovid and the younger Seneca, see Bonner, *Roman Declamation* (above, n.3), pp.57-60, 155-56, 163-64 respectively; for *loci communes* in the Senecas, pp.60-62 and 163. There is extensive evidence for the influence of *progymnasmata* on both pagan and Christian literature of the Empire. An interesting example of the influence of the *anaskeue* and *kataskeue* on Christian literature (Dionysius of Alexandria) is supplied by F.H. Colson, 'Two Examples of Literary and Rhetorical Criticism in the Fathers (Dionysius of Alexandria on the Authorship of the Apocalypse and Tertullian on Luke VI)', *JThS* 25 (1924), pp.365-74.

3

THE ANCIENT PRACTICE OF THE PARAPHRASE

We can now propose a classification of paraphrastic forms founded on the ancient theory discussed in the previous chapter. The basic distinction is made by Quintilian in the first book of the *Institutio* (I 9,2); it is between the literal, word-for-word paraphrase, stage two of the paraphrase as described by Quintilian, and the rhetorically elaborated paraphrase, stage three. The Byzantine commentators Georgius Choeroboscus and Doxopatres make the same distinction. Among modern scholars Lehrs recognizes the basic difference between the two forms, though without acknowledging its foundation in ancient theory. His formulation has become almost canonical.[1]

> Die Hauptunterscheidung, welche zuerst zu machen, ist die Unterscheidung zwischen rhetorischen und grammatischen Paraphrasen. Wobei ich unter rhetorischen Paraphrasen alle diejenigen verstanden wissen will, die mit stylistischen Zwecken gemacht wurden und nicht bestimmt neben dem Dichtertext gelesen zu werden.

The grammatical paraphrase corresponds to Quintilian, stage two (the literal, word-for-word version), the rhetorical to Quintilian, stage three. The writer of a grammatical paraphrase was not

[1] Lehrs (above, ch.2, n.43), pp.49-50. Lehrs exemplifies the two types of paraphrase in the following pages. Lehrs' distinction is adopted by, among others, Stemplinger (above, ch.2, n.1), p.118, n.2; Joseph Golega, *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibeldichtung im Altertum*, Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 15 (Breslau: Müller und Seiffert, 1930), pp.92-94; H.D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p.25; and A. Henrichs, 'Scholia Minora zu Homer I', *ZPE* 7 (1971), p.101, n.14.

concerned with the stylistic level of his work. A grammatical paraphrase was typically made of a verse original and was educational in purpose. It was intended to demonstrate (if written by a student), or facilitate (if written by a schoolmaster), a student's understanding of a poem, the diction and style of which were unfamiliar to him. The reading of poetry was confined to the school of the *grammaticus*, hence Lehrs' term for this kind of paraphrase. In the Greek schools Homer was the chief poetic text. But already in the Alexandrian period Homeric diction was unfamiliar to the poems' readers.[2] Alexandrian scholars, therefore, undertook to elucidate these obscurities; one of the procedures they employed was the paraphrase – not perhaps of whole poems or books, but of individual words or phrases that presented special difficulties.[3] Aristarchus, in particular, is known to have used this method.[4] Consequently, there grew up a body of standard interpretations of difficult words or phrases in the Homeric poems. It is probable that the writers of grammatical paraphrases had access to this tradition.[5] Their compositions often give the impression of a series of explanatory glosses strung together into the form of continuous prose. Few liberties were taken with the word order of the original; poetic forms and words were replaced by their standard prose equivalents. The example quoted by Georgius Choeroboscus is typical (III 251.20-24 Sp.): the words μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά are paraphrased as τὴν ὀργὴν εἰπὲ ὦ Μοῦσα.

Grammatical paraphrases, then, are clearly distinguishable from all other forms of paraphrase; their purpose is exegetical; they have no stylistic pretensions; they show a high degree of fidelity to their original. There is less uniformity among rhetorical paraphrases;

[2] Cf. Rudolf Pfeiffer's characterization of the state of Homeric scholarship in the second century B.C., *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.215: "Towards the middle of the second century the imperative demand was not for editing the text anew, but for explaining it in its entirety."

[3] Henrichs (above, n.1), pp.100-101, identifies four kinds of lexical activity (*Worterklärungen*) that contributed to the ancient scholia on Homer: interlinear explanations, Homeric glossaries, Homeric lexica and paraphrases. Such glossographic research is the earliest form of Homeric philology and can be traced back to the fifth century.

[4] Cf. Henrichs, p.103, n.21, and the references given there; also Lehrs (above, ch.2, n.43), pp.52-53, and Pfeiffer (above, n.2), p.289 (note on p.219). Later scholia often contain such paraphrastic interpretations. For the Aristophanic scholia see Rutherford (above, ch.2, n.29), pp.336-50.

[5] Henrichs, p.100, n.10. For the relationship between Homeric scholia and paraphrases see p.103, n.22, and P.J. Parsons, 'A School-Book from the Sayce Collection', *ZPE* 6 (1970), p.139.

a number of types can be detected.[6] It was observed in the previous chapter that as an educational exercise the paraphrase may take two different forms: either multiple paraphrases of a single short passage, as exemplified by Sopater's Μεταποιήσεις, or a single paraphrase of a longer passage, aiming to rival the original (*aemulatio*). The latter technique may also be employed outside the schools to produce what can be called "literary" paraphrases. Two forms of literary paraphrase can be identified: the first interpretative (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσαφεστέρου ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον) and didactic in nature – Themistius' paraphrases of Aristotle are cited by the Byzantine commentators as an example;[7] the second artistic compositions, intended for public dissemination as works of literature in their own right – the biblical epics fall into this last category, although they increasingly incorporate interpretative material. The various forms of paraphrase can be represented schematically as follows:

Type	*Characteristics*	*Examples*
1. Grammatical	Exegetical; school exercise; no stylistic pretensions	Pack 2. 1172 and 1176
2. Rhetorical	Some degree of stylistic sophistication	
a) School exercises	i) Multiple *modi*; single, short passage to be paraphrased	Sopater[8]
	ii) Passage paraphrased only once; longer original; motive of *aemulatio*	*Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3019
b) Literary paraphrase	i) Exegetical; subject often technical	Themistius, Eutecnius
	ii) Artistic compositions intended for independent circulation	Biblical epic

[6] The distinction made by Arthur Ludwich, *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik nach den Fragmenten des Didymos*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884-85), vol. 2, p.483, n.1, between didactic and aesthetic paraphrases is not entirely satisfactory. All rhetorical paraphrases by definition have some aesthetic intent, but they may at the same time perform an educational purpose.

[7] John the Deacon, 141.8-10 Rabe; Gregory of Corinth, VII 1294.3-6 Walz. This is the class of paraphrases that Giuseppe Giangrande, 'On the Origins of the Greek Romance: The Birth of a Literary Form', *Eranos* 60 (1962), p.152, describes as "prose paraphrases of technical value, serving chiefly practical purposes."

[8] Though apparently circulated independently under Sopater's name, the Μεταποιήσεις do not differ qualitatively from the school exercise here in question. A master of rhetoric is demonstrating his expertise in handling the tools of his trade. It is therefore legitimate to cite this work as exemplification of the paraphrase as it was practised in schools. In many cases it is impossible to distinguish between compositions produced in and out of school, for rhetoricians and orators continued to

In theory, both original and paraphrase may be in prose or verse. In practice, as already noted, grammatical paraphrases tend to be in prose and of verse originals. Similarly, exegetical literary paraphrases are naturally written in prose. School paraphrases may be of originals either in verse or prose; the exercises themselves were generally written in prose.

Grammatical Paraphrase

By their very nature grammatical paraphrases tend to be anonymous. Since they lacked any stylistic pretensions, they were rarely circulated outside the schoolroom. The grammatical paraphrase had two distinct uses: either as an exercise written by the student to demonstrate his understanding of a particular passage of poetry, or as an exegetical tool of the teacher to aid the student's comprehension of a passage. Individual teachers might make their own paraphrase or depend on the versions of others. Statius' father, a schoolteacher in Naples, seems to have composed his own paraphrases (*Silvae* V 3,159-61).[9] No other writer of grammatical paraphrases can be identified with certainty. Ancient sources name other writers of Homeric paraphrases, but it is probable that the paraphrases were rhetorical in nature. The very fact that an author was known implies his work possessed some literary pretensions. It is rather from papyri that further information on grammatical paraphrases must be sought.

Two papyri, first published in full by Wilcken in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy,[10] illuminate the relationship between Homeric scholia and grammatical paraphrases. The earlier papyrus (Pack 2. 1159) was evidently a school textbook. It cites the first line of book one of the *Iliad*, followed by a seventeen-line summary of the contents of book one, with an indication of the number of days the action of the book is calculated to have covered. The rest of the papyrus (sixteen lines) contains glossematic material for the first twenty-one lines of the poem. Only the more difficult words are

produce such pieces long after their schooldays were over. Occasional verse often takes themes familiar from the rhetorical schools. Verse ethopoeiae were especially popular; e.g. *Anth. Pal.* IX 449-480; *CIL* VI 33976; *Anth. Lat.* 198, 279 (Riese); Pack 2. 1843-44; *P. Oxy.* 42, 3002.

[9] . . . *tu par assuetus Homero / ferre iugum senosque pedes aequare solutis / versibus et numquam passu breviore relinqui.* Cf. Lehrs (above, ch.2, n.43), p.53.

[10] U. Wilcken, 'Die Achmîm-Papyri in der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris', *SB Berl. Akad.* 1887, pp.816-19. The papyri are Pack 2. 1159 and 1158, Zal. 206 and 301. They date respectively from the third/fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

interpreted. The words are arranged consecutively, Homeric first and then its prose equivalent. The text is evidently not a paraphrase since it does not offer a continuous version of the Homeric text. Its affinities are rather with the kind of lexical material found in scholia.[11] The other papyrus published by Wilcken (Pack 2. 1158) also concerns the beginning of the *Iliad*. The text is arranged in two columns on both *recto* and *verso*. In the left-hand column are listed the individual words of the Homeric text (lines 1-12);[12] in the right-hand column their normal prose equivalents. The right-hand column, therefore, if read alone, presents a continuous prose version of the Homeric passage; that is, a grammatical paraphrase. Many of the interpretations adopted by the paraphrast are found in the earlier select word list, Pack 2. 1159.[13] It seems probable that a student who was preparing a paraphrase would use such a word list.

A few other points are worth making. The paraphrase preserves exactly the word order of Homer. This was, of course, unavoidable once it was decided to arrange the two texts in parallel columns, word by word. Only once, if proper names are disregarded, does a Homeric word not receive a gloss: ψυχάς (line 12, *recto*, of the papyrus, line 3 of Homer) is rather lamely interpreted as τὰς ψυχάς. (The article is automatically added to every noun.) In some cases the paraphrase contributes little to the clarification of the text, but seems to be introduced merely for the sake of variation. For instance, πολλὰς δέ (line 10 of the papyrus, line 3 of Homer) is glossed as πλείστας δέ. A few lines earlier μυρία is glossed as πολλά. The paraphrast evidently felt obliged to avoid the wording of his original as much as possible. But in most cases poetic words and forms are simply replaced by their straightforward prose equivalents.[14] Normally this involves the replacement of one word by another, although occasionally a periphrasis has to be used, notably in the case of the patronymics Πηληϊάδεω and Ἀτρείδης.[15]

[11] For the relationship between the two papyri and the so-called D-Scholia see U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 'Zu den Homerscholien', *Hermes* 23 (1888), pp.142-47, and Henrichs (above, n.1), pp.99, n.8, and 103.

[12] There are a few gaps caused by breaks in the papyrus. Presumably the omission of the words Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν (Homer, l.3) was an oversight.

[13] This is especially true of the paraphrase given on the *recto* of the papyrus. Aristide Calderini, 'Commenti 'minori' al testo di Omero in documenti egiziani', *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), pp.310-13, prints the readings of the two papyri in parallel columns to facilitate a comparison.

[14] For example, the words οὐλομένην, Ἀχαιοῖς, ἰφθίμους, τεῦχε, ἀρητῆρα and θοάς are glossed by ὀλεθρίαν, τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ἰσχυράς, ἐποίει, τὸν ἱερέα and ταχείας; the forms Ἀχιλλῆος, κύνεσι, διαστήτην and νῆας by τοῦ Ἀχιλλέος, τοῖς κυσί, διέστησαν and τὰς ναῦς.

[15] Glossed by τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ Πηλέως and ὁ τοῦ Ἀτρέως παῖς.

Since Wilcken's publication of these papyri two more fragments of grammatical paraphrases of Homer have come to light. The earlier, dated to the first century B.C.,[16] is of part of the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* II 617-70). Lines of the paraphrase alternate with lines of Homer. The paraphrase in every case follows the line of Homer to which it corresponds. Evidently, the arrangement of the two texts eliminated any possibility of variation in word order beyond the single verse. Only once is the integrity of the verse unit disregarded. The lines

τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε Μέγης ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ
Φυλεΐδης, ὃν τίκτε Διὶ φίλος ἱππότα Φυλεύς (II 627-28)

are paraphrased

[τούτων ἡγεῖτο ὁ ἴσος τῷ Ἄρ]ηι Φυλέως υἱός
[Μέγης, ὃν Φυλεὺς ἐγ]έ[νν]ησεν ὁ προσφιλὴς τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἱππότης.

Perhaps the paraphrast wished to avoid the repetition Φυλέως ... Φυλεύς in the same line. A similar stylistic awareness is evidenced by his paraphrase of line 623 (ἦρχε Πολύξεινος θεοειδής), ὁ θεοειδὴς ἦρχε Πολύξεινος. Such stylistic considerations are more typical of the rhetorical paraphrase; but they are exceptional in the present text. As a general rule the word order of the original is preserved. The paraphrast is normally content to replace Homeric words and forms by their prose equivalents and supply a few articles and connectives,[17] procedures distinctive of the grammatical paraphrase. He is less scrupulous about avoiding the wording of the original than the writer of Pack 2. 1158. In at least two cases words are left unchanged in the paraphrase, although they seem to require some form of interpretation, θεοειδής (line 623, quoted above) and εἰνοσίφυλλον (line 632).[18] Bartoletti, the editor of this paraphrase, believes it was part of a larger version extending beyond the Catalogue of Ships.[19] The present text was evidently prepared for school use.

One other grammatical paraphrase of some length survives

[16] *P.S.I.* 12, 1276 (*recto*); Zalateo 199; Pack 2. 1172. The text is edited by Vittorio Bartoletti, 'Papiri inediti fiorentini', *Aegyptus* 19 (1939), pp.177-86, who recognizes (p.178) that it is a grammatical paraphase.

[17] For example, the Homeric words ἄνακτος, ἁλός, ἀπενάσσατο and ἀτάλαντος are replaced by βασιλέως, θαλάσσης, ἀπῴκησε and ἴσος; the forms ἡγησάσθην, ἱεράων and τρηχεῖαν by ἡγοῦντο, ἱερῶν and τραχεῖαν. The paraphrast is more discriminating in his use of the article than was the writer of Pack 2. 1158.

[18] Cf. Bartoletti (above, n.16), p.183, note *ad loc.*

[19] Ibid., pp.184-85.

from antiquity, a paraphrase of *Iliad* IV 349-63.[20] It is on the *recto* of a wooden tablet (*Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3017) of the second or third century A.D. The *verso* carries the text of *Iliad* IV 364-73 and in a second column a number of glosses of words contained in that passage. The paraphrase follows the word order of the original very closely, although occasionally the order of a noun and its epithet is inverted.[21] The procedure followed is exactly that noted in other grammatical paraphrases. In the words of the editors, "le traducteur s'ingénie à changer tous les mots du poète, il introduit articles et particules de liaison, il modernise la morphologie et tient à garder un mot pour chaque mot."[22] For example, lines 350-52

Ἀτρεΐδη, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;
πῶς δὴ φῆς πολέμοιο μεθιέμεν, ὁππότ' Ἀχαιοὶ
Τρωσὶν ἐφ' ἱπποδάμοισιν ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν Ἄρηα;

are paraphrased

Ὦ Ἀτρέως παῖ, ποδαπός λόγος ἔφυγεν τὸ περίφραγμα τῶν ὀδόντων;
πῶς δὴ λέγεις τοῦ πολέμου ἀμελεῖν, ὁπόταν οἱ Ἕλληνες
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππικοῖς Τρωσὶ συναθροίζωμεν τὸν ταχὺν πόλεμον.[23]

The Homeric words Ἀτρεΐδη, ἔπος, ἕρκος, μεθιέμεν, Ἀχαιοί, ἱπποδάμοισιν, ἐγείρομεν and ὀξὺν Ἄρηα are replaced by Ὦ Ἀτρέως παῖ, λόγος, περίφραγμα, ἀμελεῖν, Ἕλληνες, ἱππικοῖς, συναθροίζωμεν and τὸν ταχὺν πόλεμον, the forms φύγεν and πολέμοιο by ἔφυγεν and πολέμου. Although the paraphrast normally uses the same number of words as the original, periphrases cannot always be avoided. The paraphrase of the patronymic Ἀτρεΐδη (Ὦ Ἀτρέως παῖ) is a case in point.[24] Nor is the Homeric language always changed. The original wording may be retained when it corresponds to standard prose usage. Thus the word ὀδόντων is retained in the paraphrase, as is the phrase εἴ τι κακὸν νῦν / εἴρηται (362-63). It is significant that the metonymy in line 352 of the Homeric passage, Ἄρηα for

[20] Zalateo 203/Pack 2. 1176, published by Marcel Hombert and Claire Préaux, 'Une tablette homérique de la Bibliothèque Bodléenne', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 11 (1951), pp.161-68.

[21] Τρωσὶν ἐφ' ἱπποδάμοισιν (line 352) becomes ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππικοῖς Τρωσί, Τρώων ἱπποδάμων (355) τῶν ἱππικῶν Τρώων, ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν (360) ἐν τοῖς προσφιλεστάτοις στήθεσι.

[22] Hombert and Préaux (above, n.20), p.167.

[23] I have adopted the emendations ποδαπὸς for ποταπὸς and ὁπόταν for ὁράτον proposed by Hombert and Préaux.

[24] Cf. also Ὦ εὐγενέστατε Λαέρτου παῖ for Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη (358) and ἀρεστὰ ποιησόμεθα for ἀρεσσόμεθα (362).

πόλεμον, is lost in the prose text. According to ancient theory tropes were characteristic of poetry in contrast to prose. Such deviations from standard usage were naturally removed in the grammatical paraphrase.

The editors of this paraphrase do not believe it was the work of a schoolboy; it was probably composed some time before the actual date of the tablet, and represents a version of Homer traditionally used in schools.[25] Presumably the present text was copied by the owner of the tablet for his own personal use. Like the other paraphrases discussed it has a number of affinities with the so-called D-scholia of Homer, as well as with the Homeric paraphrases of the Byzantine period. Evidently, these various forms of Homeric exegesis are interrelated.[26]

The important part played by grammatical paraphrases in ancient education emerges clearly from the papyri. Students prepared paraphrases as exercises in comprehension, assisted by Homeric glossaries and other critical aids. Teachers wrote their own paraphrases to be used in their instruction or used already existing paraphrases. In some cases a particular version of a certain word or phrase seems to have become traditional. That version then appears repeatedly in glossaries, scholia, paraphrases and other forms of Homeric exegesis. Grammatical paraphrases were in use throughout antiquity. Papyri containing such paraphrases have been found dating from as early as the first century B.C. and as late as the fifth century A.D. The value of these word-for-word prose versions of poetic texts continued to be appreciated in the Byzantine period when a number of grammatical paraphrases were written.[27]

[25] Hombert and Préaux (above, n.20), p.168.

[26] The D-scholia are those scholia traditionally, but falsely, attributed to Didymus, the scholar of the Augustan period. Henrichs (above, n.1), p.99, n.8, describes them as follows: "Das Corpus der D-Scholien ist wie alle Scholiencorpora zu Homer eine byzantinische Kompilation, deren Hauptquelle die Homerglossare, Homerlexika und Homerparaphrasen waren." Calderini (above, n.13), pp.311-13, Bartoletti (above, n.16), pp.178 and 182-84, and Hombert and Préaux, pp.165-68, compare their respective papyri with the scholia and Byzantine paraphrases and indicate a number of similarities. For the various Byzantine grammatical paraphrases of Homer see Ludwich (above, n.6), vol. 2, pp.490-552, and Bartoletti, p.178.

[27] See previous note. Lycophron, in particular, needed to be interpreted by means of grammatical paraphrases. Cf. Lehrs (above, ch.2, n.43), pp.69-72, and E. Scheer, 'Die Ueberlieferung der *Alexandra* des Lykophron', *RhM* 34 (1879), pp.272-91.

Rhetorical Paraphrase

School exercises

Two types of rhetorical paraphrases can be distinguished in the writings of Theon and Quintilian on *progymnasmata*. The first exercise involves recasting a single passage of no great length in various ways by the successive employment of the *modi tractandi* (τρόποι, σχήματα). Quintilian (X 5,9-11) suggests the student might choose a passage written by himself to be paraphrased in this way, but the only surviving examples of this exercise take as their starting points texts of Homer and Demosthenes. No papyri have yet been found containing such exercises. But fragments of paraphrases which follow this procedure survive in the writings of Byzantine rhetoricians. The more extensive fragments are from the Μεταποιήσεις of Sopater (fourth century A.D.). They contain paraphrases of *Iliad* XVII 629-42 and VIII 146-50[28] and of Demosthenes, *De Corona* 60. In addition, two versions of *Iliad* XII 322-28 by the fifth/sixth-century rhetor Procopius of Gaza are preserved by John the Deacon.[29] These are from the work described by Photius (*Bibl.* 160) as στίχων Ὁμηρικῶν μεταφράσεις εἰς ποικίλας λόγων ἰδέας ἐκμεμορφωμέναι. Like Sopater's Μεταποιήσεις, Procopius' work was primarily a demonstration of rhetorical expertise, as Photius indicates, αἳ (sc. μεταφράσεις) μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς περὶ ῥητορικὴν δύναμιν καὶ μελέτην ἱκαναὶ πεφύκασιν ἀπαγγέλλειν. In the two preserved examples, Procopius handles his Homeric text with a good deal of freedom. Here is the first of the two versions:

> διὰ νίκης ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν ἥτταν φέρων ἀνέξομαι· οἶδα τὴν φύσιν, τῶν Μοιρῶν τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπίσταμαι· ὅθεν ἀμείνων ἡ μάχη. καὶ ἀριστεύειν ἐπείγομαι, πρὶν γῆρας ἰδεῖν καὶ παιδευθῆναι καλῶς, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἡ μάχη φέρειν οἶδε τὸν θάνατον.

Evidently, a practised orator allowed himself considerable leeway in his treatment of the original. All that remains from the Homeric passage is the essential idea that "it is no use fleeing battle, since death catches up with all mortals in the end." The stylistic refinement of Procopius' paraphrase is obvious: the antithesis of

[28] Glöckner (above, ch.2, n.27), p.511, identifies the line ναί δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες as *Iliad* I 286. But it is clear from the paraphrases that follow that the passage in question is VIII 146-50. VIII 146 is identical with I 286.

[29] Cf. Brinkmann (above, ch.2, n.1), pp.618 and 622-23. Stemplinger (above, ch.2, n.1), pp.212-15, lists ancient paraphrases. I am indebted to him for a number of references.

νίκης and ἤτταν in the first sentence, the chiastic word order of οἶδα ... ἐξεπίσταμαι, and the careful variation in the length of clause and sentence. Especially characteristic of Procopius' version is the use of paronomasia and word-play. The words φέρων ... οἶδα occur at the beginning of the passage; they are repeated in the final colon of the concluding period, φέρειν οἶδα, this time in a different sense. There is, moreover, an evident play on words in γῆρας ... παιδευθῆναι. Procopius apparently delighted in such verbal trickery. The assonance and alliteration in the phrase τῶν Μοιρῶν τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπίσταμαι· ὅθεν ἀμείνων ἡ μάχη (especially μηχανὰς ... μάχη) is clearly intentional. But Procopius introduces other variations into the Homeric passage. He substitutes first-person singular narrative for the paraenetic first and second persons of Homer. The passage, as a result, takes on something of the form of an ethopoeia. And he concludes his paraphrase with an instance of the figure *emphasis*,[30] that is, he implies more than he actually states. He writes "before I learn that not only battle can bring death," he means "before I die."

Procopius' *tour de force* would be beyond many students of rhetoric. Indeed, one would be hard pressed to identify the particular *modus tractandi* he is employing. Sopater's Μεταποιήσεις are undoubtedly more representative of scholastic practice. The writer's expertise is evidenced rather by the number of paraphrases he was able to produce than by the quality of each individual version. Sopater composed seventy-two paraphrases of *Iliad* XVII 629ff. Fifty-eight survive. Here is a sample.

> ἄλλως καθ' ὑπερβολήν· 'καθ' Ἑλλήνων Ζεὺς Τρῶας ἐπήγειρε· τί καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν δι' ἀχλύος ἠνάγκασεν;' — ἄλλως εὐκτικῶς· 'Ζεύς, ὦ θεοί, τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγείη ῥοπῆς, μεταστήσειεν ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀντιπάλων τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκόντια.' — ἄλλως παθητικῶς· 'οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν, φεῦ τῆς συμφορᾶς· πολλὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν δεινῶν ἀμετρίαν ἐξεύρηκε, τραγῳδίας ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν σκηνὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ βάρβαροι.' (507.16-23 Glöckner)

In each instance the Homeric passage supplies nothing more than the basic idea, that Zeus is aiding the Trojans.[31] The various σχήματα are employed to ring the changes on that idea. Although it is always evident which is the primary σχῆμα being used, other subsidiary

[30] *Emphasis* (*significatio*) is defined in the *Rhet. ad Her.* (IV 53,67) as follows: *significatio est res quae plus in suspicione relinquit quam positum est in oratione.*

[31] It is likely that the individual paraphrases were originally longer and were abbreviated when quoted by Byzantine rhetoricians (cf. the lengthier paraphrases quoted by Glöckner [above, ch.2, n.27] at the foot of pp.506-508).

variations may be introduced. For instance, a question is introduced into the first example and metaphor is employed in the third paraphrase. It is easy to see that exercises of this nature would develop the student's ability to handle language.

The second type of rhetorical paraphrase practised in the schools is that described by Quintilian in *Institutio* I 9,2 (and X 5,4-8). In a grammatical paraphrase a student was concerned only with demonstrating his comprehension of a passage of verse by rewriting it in straightforward prose of no stylistic pretensions. The writer of a rhetorical paraphrase went one step further by introducing stylistic refinements into the simple prose text so produced. The exercise was primarily stylistic, although an element of poetic interpretation remained. A poetic text had first to be understood before it could be reworked. Nor was there any reason why only poetry could be paraphrased in this fashion. Both Cicero and Quintilian envisage rhetorical paraphrases of prose texts. Prose texts, too, could be varied by means of the *modi tractandi*, although they were unlikely to present the difficulties of interpretation inherent in poetry.

As might be expected, Homer was a favourite subject for rhetorical paraphrase. Parsons[32] has published such an exercise from the third century. It is preserved on one face of a set of wooden tablets evidently intended for school use. The paraphrase is of *Iliad* I 1-21. The rhetorical nature of the paraphrase is especially evident from the paraphrast's handling of Chryses' speech (*Iliad* I 12-21, lines 31 to 55 of the papyrus):

> ὁ Χρύσης τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐ/τοῦ Χρυσηίδος νόμῳ πολέμου/ αἰχμαλωτισθείσης ἦλθεν ἐπὶ/ τὸ ναύσταθμον καὶ ἐδεήθη/ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν ἀποκαταστῆσαι/ αὐτῷ τὴν μονογενῆ θυγατέ/ρα τοιαῦτα λέγων./ "οὐδὲν ἄλλο διὰ <σ>πουδῆς ὑμῖν κα/θέστηκεν, ὦ Ἀτρεῖδαι καὶ ὦ ἄλλοι λοιποὶ/ Ἕλληνες, ἢ τὸ πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἴλιον καὶ τοὺς/ Πριαμίδας παραστήσασθαι, μετὰ νίκης/ δὲ καὶ λαφύρων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ὑποστρέ/ψαι· ταῦτα ὑμῖν συνεύχομαι, ταῦτα τὸν/ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπινεῦσαι ὑμῖν αἰτῶ πρόπολος/ τυγχάνω<ν>· ἀντὶ δὲ ταύτης <τῆς> εὐφημίας/ ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὴν μονογενῆ θυγατέρα ἣν/ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου ..... αἰχμάλωτον ὑμῖν/ ἐκδέδωκεν, οὐ προῖκα οὐδὲ δωρεᾷ, ἀλλὰ/ ἐπὶ λύτροις παμπολλοῖς καὶ πολυτιμήτοις/ ἅπερ ὑμῖν νυνὶ προσφέρω, μάλιστα δὲ χάριτι/ τῇ πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα, ὃν παρόντα καὶ ὑμᾶς/ ἀξιοῦντα ὁρᾶν δοκοῦντες ἐντρέπεσθε./ τούτου γὰρ τὰ στέμ-

[32] *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3019; P.J. Parsons (above, n.5), pp.133-41. The paraphrase was only copied, not composed, by the owner of the tablets.

ματα ἱκετηρίαν ὑμῖν/ προτίνων σχεδὸν αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν/ ὑπερπρεσβεύοντά μου τοῦ ἱερέως ὑμῖν."[33]

The continuous text breaks off at this point. It is immediately clear that the paraphrast has greatly expanded the Homeric version of Chryses' speech which occupies only five lines. Homeric speeches were apparently congenial subjects for reworking; Sopater and Procopius both paraphrase passages of direct speech. In effect, the Chryses speech is an ethopoeia on a Homeric theme, set in the larger context of a rhetorical paraphrase of the beginning of the *Iliad*. The speech might be entitled: τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Χρύσης δεόμενος τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν ἀποκαταστῆσαι αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα. Transposition is used to heighten the persuasiveness of Chryses' speech; the reference to στέμματα, which is little more than an incidental part of the narrative in Homer (ll. 14-15), is incorporated into the body of the speech. The στέμματα thus serve as vivid embodiment of Apollo's own interest in the success of Chryses' embassy.[34] Stylistic elaboration is evident elsewhere in the paraphrase. The phrase ταῦτα ὑμῖν συνεύχομαι, ταῦτα τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπινεῦσαι ὑμῖν αἰτῶ contains anaphora (ταῦτα ... ταῦτα), and the figure of *interpretatio*, since the two clauses are practically synonymous.[35] But the most carefully structured passage in the paraphrase extends from οὐ προῖκα to δοκοῦντες ἐντρέπεσθε. The passage is in the form of a tricolon crescendo:[36] οὐ ... δωρεᾷ, ἀλλά ... προσφέρω, μάλιστα ... ἐντρέπεσθε, which is emphasized by the antithesis between each of the three elements. At the same time a further parallelism exists between the individual members. The first element corresponds in structure to the second – both contain a pair of synonyms or near-synonyms (προῖκα ... δωρεᾷ / παμπόλλοις καὶ πολυτιμήτοις), and the second to the third – both terminate in a relative clause (ἅπερ ... προσφέρω / ὅν ... ἐντρέπεσθε). The result is an elaborate period, and one that makes the utmost use of rhetorical techniques to

[33] In the case of obvious mistakes in the text of the tablet, I have inserted Parson's corrections. The word obliterated between πολέμου and αἰχμάλωτον may have been δίκη (so Koenen), although Parsons thinks there must have been at least five letters in the word (cf. Parsons, p.138, *ad loc.*).

[34] On this see Parsons, p.141. Parsons also points out that "the other gods (*Il.* I 18) disappear, Apollo alone remains – a brief reference at the end of the first section, then an elaborate visualization as a peroration."

[35] On *interpretatio* see below, pp.154-60.

[36] The tricolon is recommended by the author of the *Rhet. ad Her.* (IV 19,26). In the tricolon crescendo each unit is larger than the one that precedes it. The three units of the present example are strictly longer than a colon, but the principle of triadic arrangement is still applicable.

enhance the force of the speech. By contrast, the Homeric original (τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι, / ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα) seems quite jejune. The exercise clearly provides valuable training in rhetorical techniques of persuasion (in this instance synonymic amplification, *interpretatio*, anaphora, antithesis, and tricolon crescendo).

The language of the passage is more poetic than would be the case in a grammatical paraphrase. Parsons[37] indicates that ναύσταθμον, λαφύρων and πρόπολος "have a poetic colour," while ὑπερπρεσβεύειν "seems to be new." It is significant that the paraphrast retains the patronymic Ἀτρεῖδαι, but substitutes Ἕλληνες for Ἀχαιοί. No doubt he felt the patronymic was stylistically preferable to a periphrasis.

This papyrus contains the best surviving example of a rhetorical school paraphrase that is without overt exegetical intent. It is likely that other paraphrases of Homer, referred to in ancient sources but no longer extant, were of a similar nature. The elder Seneca (*Suasoriae* I 12) refers to a μετάφρασις of Homer by the rhetor Dorion; Apollonius Sophistes (*ca* A.D. 100) cites a paraphrase of the *Iliad* by Timogenes;[38] and the *Suda* attributes a Παράφρασις τῶν Ὁμήρου παραβολῶν to Tryphiodorus (third or fourth century)[39] and a Μετάφρασις τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου to Justinian's minister, Tribonianus.[40] The versions of Homer and Virgil written by Polybius, Claudius' freedman, were probably free translations of the two poets.[41]

Not all rhetorical paraphrases were as elaborate as the example just quoted. The Τέχνη ῥητορική traditionally but falsely attributed to Aristides[42] contains two examples of the paraphrase, of *Iliad* I 1-43 and *Odyssey* IV 425-36 (68.7 - 70.13 Schmid). These paraphrases are by no means as free as that published by Parsons, but they are not without stylistic pretensions. Here is the Chryses passage in ps.-Aristides' paraphrase:

[37] Parsons (above, n.5), p.141, n.22.

[38] Cf. Schmid-Stählin, vol. 1.1, p.170, n.12. Apollonius Sophistes, *s.v.* ἅρπυιαι· ὁ μὲν Τιμογένης ἐν ταῖς παραφράσεσιν ἔδειξεν ὅτι κύριον ὄνομα Ἅρπυια.

[39] Τρυφιόδωρος· διάφορα ἔγραψε δι' ἐπῶν. Παράφρασιν τῶν Ὁμήρου παραβολῶν· καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα (IV 601.18-19 Adler).

[40] Τριβωνιανός, Σιδήτης ... ἔγραψεν ... Μετάφρασιν τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου (IV 588.16-22 Adler).

[41] That is, they were examples of the Übersetzungsparaphrase, to use Thraede's terminology (above, ch.2, n.17); cf. Seneca, *Consolatio ad Polybium* 8,2 and 11,4-5.

[42] Above, ch.2, n.79.

ἄνδρα ἐλθεῖν πρεσβύτην Χρύσην ὀνόματι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερέα, θυγατέρα αἰχμάλωτον λυσόμενον, οὖσαν παρὰ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι· σκῆπτρον δὲ δὴ χρυσοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ περὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ στέμματα τοῦ θεοῦ κομίζειν [δὲ καὶ] ἄποινα οὐκ ὀλίγιστα [τὰ δὲ] εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς <καὶ> ἱκετεύειν πάντας μέν, διαφερόντως δὲ τοὺς Ἀτρείδας, συνευχόμενον ἐκείνοις μὲν ἑλεῖν τὴν Τροίαν καὶ σωθῆναι οἴκαδε, αὐτῷ δὲ ὑπάρξαι λύσασθαι τὴν κόρην· πάντως δὲ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς αἰδεσθῆναι τὸν θεόν. (68.22 - 69.10 Schmid)

The paraphrast employs indirect statement as a *modus tractandi*. The infinitives apparently depend on an idea of saying derived from the phrase πόθεν ἄρξασθαι φῶμεν τὴν ἔριν; a few lines earlier (68.20 Schmid). The passage quoted is a carefully structured period, articulated primarily by the use of participles and antitheses. The writer seems particularly fond of the combination μέν ... δέ .... These two words appear only once in Homer (ὑμῖν μέν ..., παῖδα δέ, 18-20), but twice in ps.-Aristides' paraphrase. In fact, the construction appears for a third time immediately after Chryses' speech, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ..., Ἀγαμέμνων δέ ... (69.10-12 Schmid).[43] The paraphrase of Chryses' speech proper, corresponding to lines 17-21 in Homer, is in the form of a tricolon (ἐκείνοις μέν ..., αὐτῷ δέ ..., πάντως δέ ...). The argument is more tightly constructed than in the original and particularly emphasizes the point that the Atreidae should show respect for Apollo. This point is made the culmination of Chryses' argument in the paraphrase (πάντως δέ ...); in Homer it is given no special emphasis. The passage well illustrates Quintilian's instructions concerning prose paraphrases of poetic texts, *sed et ipsis sententiis adicere licet oratorium robur et omissa supplere, effusa substringere* (X 5,4). If the careful articulation of Chryses' argument is an example of *omissa supplere*, the reduction of ll. 16-17 of Homer (Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν·/ "Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί") to διαφερόντως δὲ τοὺς Ἀτρείδας, and of Διὸς υἱὸν ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα (l.21) to τὸν θεόν are examples of *effusa substringere*. Both procedures have the effect of replacing *poetica licentia* by *oratorium robur*.

An interesting comparison is afforded by the paraphrase of *Iliad* I 20-42 contained in Plato's *Republic* (III 393d-394b).[44] Plato is, of course, concerned to demonstrate the difference between straightforward narrative (ἁπλῆ διήγησις) and poetic imitation (μίμησις), the process by which characters are made to speak directly without the intervention of a third-person narrator. To demonstrate this distinction he undertakes to rewrite *Iliad* I 20-42, a passage in which extensive use is made of poetic imitation, in straightforward narrative. He substitutes the "diegetic" for the "mimetic" mode. Chryses' speech then reads as follows:

ἐλθὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς ηὔχετο ἐκείνοις μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς δοῦναι ἑλόντας τὴν Τροίαν αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα οἱ λῦσαι δεξαμένους ἄποινα καὶ τὸν θεὸν αἰδεσθέντας. (III 393d-e)

Plato makes no attempt to give greater force to Chryses' arguments. That, after all, was no part of his purpose in writing the paraphrase. But he does prune the poetic redundancies of his original (*effusa substringere*). Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες (18) is entirely omitted, as it is in the other paraphrases of this passage, and Διὸς υἱὸν ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα (21) is once again reduced to τὸν θεόν.

Despite varying degrees of fidelity to their Homeric original, all three paraphrases so far considered fall into the category of rhetorical paraphrases. All show a greater concern for stylistic considerations than for exegesis. The papyri include a number of other texts that may be part of such paraphrases. Because of their fragmentary nature it is not always easy to identify the exercise in question.[45] One text that does merit further attention is a Latin verse

[43] Cf. 68.13-14 Schmid, πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πρὸ ὥρας διεφθάρησαν, πολλοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ταφῆς ὑπῆρξε τυχεῖν (corresponding to *Il.* I 3-4). In this case, anaphora is combined with antithesis.

[44] Ludwich (above, n.6), pp.488-90, prints the complete texts of ps.-Aristides and Plato in parallel columns to facilitate comparison.

[45] Pack 2. 1157, Zalateo 207, of the beginning of the *Iliad*; Pack 2. 1169, paraphrase of *Il.* I 528-48; Pack 2. 1177, paraphrase of book 4; Pack 2. 1185, Zalateo 198, of book 6, incorporating a verbatim quotation of lines 448-55; Pack 2. 791, Zalateo 137, of book 6; *P. Colon.* inv. 1755 (*Il.* IX 128ff., cf. A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 1 [1967], pp.111-12), and *P. Ant.* III 143 (*Il.* XXIII 551-68). The meeting of Andromache and Hector in book 6 of the *Iliad* was particularly favoured for school themes. The second of the ethopoeiae in Libanius' *Progymnasmata* (376.10 - 378 Foerster) is on just this topic. Some of the texts cited may have been summaries of the contents of a book, rather than full-scale paraphrases. Pack 2. 2655, Zalateo 169, has been identified as a paraphrase of an epic poem on Hercules. *P.S.I.* 13,1303, Zalateo 205, is a reworking in dramatic form of Euripides, *Phoenissae* 446-637. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* I (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), p.172, believes it is part of an original tragedy, but his identification has not been universally accepted (cf. Medea Norsa [ed.], *Papiri greci e latini*, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana 13 [Firenze: Società italiana, 1949], pp.57-60). Pack 2. 1831, Zalateo 191, is a poetic text on a Homeric theme, Odysseus' vengeance on the suitors, but it is not sufficiently close to any Homeric passage to permit its identification as a paraphrase (cf. Page, pp.550-53). The same is true of *P. Oxy.* 42,3001, also in verse on a Homeric theme, the appearance of the ghost of Patroclus to Achilles (*Il.* XXIII 65ff.). In technique it is likened by its editor, P.J. Parsons, to a Homeric cento. Pack 2. 1844, Zalateo 193, contains fragments of verse ethopoeiae on a number of poetic themes; cf. R. Reitzenstein, 'Die Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis', *Hermes* 35 (1900), pp.102-105. Pack 2. 1843, Zalateo 196, is also a verse ethopoeia, or more strictly a prosopopoeia, since it is Achilles' shade that speaks

paraphrase (third/fourth century) of *Aeneid* I 477-93.[46] Whether or not written in school, in length and subject matter it has much in common with school exercises.[47] The Virgilian passage chosen contains a description of scenes from the Trojan War, as depicted on the walls of Juno's temple in Carthage. Such descriptions of works of art were frequently the subject of rhetorical ἐκφράσεις;[48] the ἔκφρασις itself was one of the canonical *progymnasmata*. Here is the paraphrase of lines 483-493:

> nec sua ter tractus sub moenia defuit Hector,
> victorisque fames auro qui vendidit ig[nem].
> his magis indoluit gemuitque potentius heros:
> exuviae currus foedataque membṛa [sodalis]
> [cer]nuntur supplexque pater, miserabile visu.
> Martem cum Danais miscet ducto[ribus ipse],
> armatusque niger Memnon agit agmina nigra.
> iamque videbantur gaudentes Marte puellae:
> d[uxque fur]ens auro nudam succincta p̣a̤pillam
> ardet adire viros conatur vincere sexum
> imi]t̤a̤ntia lunam

The paraphrase occupies the same number of verses as its Virgilian original. As Cavenaile has demonstrated,[49] much of the vocabulary and phraseology introduced by the paraphrast is Virgilian, derived from elsewhere in the *Aeneid*. In Cavenaile's words, "cette composition ... est plus qu'une paraphrase, elle rappelle la manière du centon."[50] The writer does not avoid figurative language, even when there is no precedent for it in his original. *Mars* is twice used by metonymy for *bellum*. And the paraphrase of line 484 (*exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles*) sacrifices clarity to verbal ingenuity (*victorisque fames auro qui vendidit ignem*). The metaphorical use of *fames* is quite intelligible, but the sense of *ignem*

(cf. Quint. IX 2,31: *quin deducere deos in hoc genere dicendi* [sc. *prosopopoeiis*] *et* inferos excitare *concessum est*). *P. Grenf.* II 84, Zalateo 208, is a school paraphrase of a fable (cf. Ziebarth [above, ch.2, n.39], p.17, no.38, Beudel [above, ch.2, n.39], pp.51-56). Another papyrus, *CPL* 38, contains a similar exercise in Latin.

[46] *P.S.I.* 2,142, *CPL* 19.

[47] Cf. Ermenegildo Pistelli, *Papiri greci e latini*, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana 2 (Firenze: Società italiana, 1913), pp.65-66. The paraphrase is preserved almost in its entirety.

[48] On ecphraseis of works of art see G. Downey, 'Ekphrasis', *RAC* 4 (Stuttgart, 1959), coll. 921-44, and Giovanni Ravenna, 'L'ekphrasis poetica di opere d'arte in latino: temi e problemi', *QIFL* 3 (1974), pp.1-52.

[49] Robert Cavenaile, 'Un pastiche de Virgile, le *P.S.I.* II 142', *LEC* 18 (1950), pp.285-88.

[50] Cavenaile, p.288.

(or possibly *ignes* – the last three letters are missing) is obscure. Evidently, *ignem* is intended as some form of trope. It corresponds to *corpus* in Virgil. The most probable explanation is Teresa Lodi's, that the body is so described because it is to be put on a pyre.[51] I find Cavenaile's explanation,[52] that *ignem* refers to "le ressentiment d'Achille" less satisfactory. In any case, it is clear that the paraphrast was trying to lend a poetic quality to his composition by the use of tropes. Poetic *licentia* perhaps lapses into *obscuritas* in the substitution of the word *ignem* for the Virgilian *corpus*. The line between *virtus* and *vitium* was very finely drawn.

Figures were recognized as another source of the *voluptas* characteristic of poetry.[53] In paraphrasing *Aeneid* I 489 the paraphrast introduces two figures that are absent from the original, *armatusque* niger *Memnon* agit agmina nigra. Both the paronomasia *agit agmina* and the polyptoton *niger ... nigra* are innovations. They are again evidence of the author's desire to make his paraphrase more poetic, according to contemporary canons of poetic excellence (the motive of *aemulatio*). As a general rule, the paraphrast attempts to vary Virgil's language, but he will retain the language of the original where it suits his purpose.[54] Nor is he always successful in preserving the forcefulness of his model when he does introduce variations: *cernuntur supplexque pater, miserabile visu* is especially lame for *tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis*.[55] But despite its deficiencies the text is a valuable witness to the facility a student of the schools of Greco-Roman Egypt could achieve in Latin verse composition.[56] At the same time, it affords some insight into the methods that must be used by any writer of a verse paraphrase,[57] whatever his expertise in versification.

[51] Quoted by Pistelli (above, n.47), p.66, note *ad loc.*, "il cadavere da imporre sul rogo;" cf. Clifford H. Moore, 'Latin Exercises from a Greek Schoolroom', *CPh* 19 (1924), p.327.

[52] Cavenaile (above, n.49), p.287, note *ad loc.*

[53] Quintilian (X 1,28) speaks of the poet's *licentia figurarum*.

[54] For instance the words *templum* (479, line 2 of the papyrus), *pectora* (481, l.3 – in the same position in the line) and *currus* (486, l.5) are retained. On the other hand, *crines* is substituted for *comae* (477, l.1) and *comas* for *crinibus* (480, l.3), *Troades* for *Iliades* (483, l.2 – the two are metrically equivalent), *moenia* for *muros* (483, l.4), *exuviae* for *spolia* (486, l.5), *membra* for *corpus* (486, l.5), *Danais ... ductoribus* for *principibus ... Achivis* (488, l.6), etc.

[55] Another example is the substitution of *haud tamen aspexit* for *solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat* (482, l.3).

[56] Cf. Cavenaile, 'Un pastiche de Virgile' (above, n.49), pp.285 and 288.

[57] *Anth. Lat.* 255, a poetic treatment of the Virgilian theme, *nec tibi diva parens ...* (*Aen.* IV 365ff.), is similar in some respects. Its final six lines correspond closely to

Literary paraphrases

The first type of literary paraphrase is exegetical in nature. Such a paraphrase is typically of a text that presents special difficulties to the reader, because of either the unfamiliarity of its language or the abstruseness of its subject matter. The aim of the paraphrase is to make the content of the original comprehensible to the reader by recasting it in a readily intelligible form.[58] Such paraphrases are not necessarily intended to be read in conjunction with the texts they paraphrase. Literary paraphrases of this kind differ from grammatical paraphrases in having a certain degree of stylistic sophistication and being intended for a wider audience than that of the schoolroom. They differ from other rhetorical paraphrases in having an overtly interpretative purpose.

Themistius' paraphrases of Aristotle were evidently intended to assist the reader in understanding Aristotle's philosophy. Their aim was to explain Aristotle's process of reasoning.[59] At the same

three of Virgil, IV 365-67. *P. Oxy.* 42,3002 (fourth century) is similar to *Anth. Lat.* 255. It is a verse ethopoeia based on *Il.* I 207-14, although more than three times the length of the Homeric passage (26 lines).

[58] Commentaries often contained a large element of paraphrase for just this reason. The commentary on a poem of Simonides included in Plato's *Protagoras* (338e-347a) as an example of sophistic method contains such a paraphrastic element (343a-344c), cf. H. Schreckenberg, 'Exegese I (heidnisch, Griechen und Römer)', *RAC* 6 (Stuttgart, 1966), col. 1177, and Hermann Gundert, 'Die Simonides-Interpretation in Platons *Protagoras*', ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ*: Festschrift Otto Regenbogen* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1952), pp.79-81. Christian commentators continued this tradition. G. Bardy quotes a description of Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on the twelve minor prophets: "cette exégèse tourne fréquemment à la paraphrase," 'Commentaires patristiques de la Bible', in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, suppl. vol. 2 (Paris, 1934), col. 97; and M.F. Wiles, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia as Representative of the Antiochene School', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963-1970), vol. 1, p.497, says of Theodore's *Commentary on the Psalms*: "much of the commentary consists of simple paraphrase, clarifying the meaning of the often obscure phraseology of the Psalms."

[59] Cf. the preface to the paraphrase of the *Posterior Analytics*: πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔοικε τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλίων εἰς ἐπίκρυψιν μεμηχανῆσθαι, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ προκείμενα, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν συνήθη βραχυλογίαν, ἔπειθ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ τάξις τῶν κεφαλαίων οὐ διακέκριται. ὥσθ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη συγγιγνώσκειν, εἰ τὰ μὲν φαινοίμεθα μακρότερον ἑρμηνεύοντες (οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν εἰπεῖν διὰ τῶν ἴσων σαφέστερον), τὰ δὲ μεθαρμοττομένοι καὶ μετατιθέντες ὡς ἂν φαίνοιτο ἕκαστα τῶν κεφαλαίων περιγεγραμμένα. I quote from the edition of Maximilian Wallies, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 5.1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1900), p.1.16-22. For the emphasis on σαφήνεια see 1.12-13, τὸ δὴ πρότερον τῶν Ὑστέρων ἀναλυτικῶν οὕτω σαφηνίσαι προελόμενοι. Willy Stegemann, 'Themistios', *R.E.* n.s. 5 (Stuttgart, 1934), coll. 1651-55, discusses Themistius' paraphrases of Aristotle, of which three survive in Greek (*Posterior Analytics*, *Physics*, *De Anima*) and two in Hebrew versions (*De Caelo*, *Metaphysics* XII). Stegemann points out that Themistius' paraphrases differ in the fidelity they show to Aristotle's text.

time, they were not without stylistic sophistication, certainly beyond that of the simple word-for-word grammatical paraphrase. But Themistius' paraphrases were in prose of prose originals. Of more immediate interest to the present study are a group of prose paraphrases, written in late antiquity, of didactic poetry. Two of these paraphrases, of Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* and *Theriaca*, are written by a Εὐτέκνιος σοφιστής, of whom little is known, although he must have lived no later than the early sixth century, since one manuscript dates from that period.[60] A further three paraphrases survive, of Oppian's *Halieutica* and *Cynegetica* and of an *Ixeutica*, the last attributed in some manuscripts to a certain Dionysius.[61] A preface (in iambic trimeters[62]) to the paraphrase of the *Cynegetica* speaks of the benefit (εὐκαρπία) that may be derived from reading the paraphrase. The paraphrase is to serve as a technical handbook (θηρατικῆς μάθημα πάγκαλον τέχνης). Its author has removed the obscurities of poetic diction by rewriting the text in prose (ἐκ τῆς σκοτεινῆς τοῦ μέτρου δυσφωνίας / εἰς πεζὸν εἶδος τοῦ λόγου μεθαρμόσας).

Such paraphrases were primarily interpretative in nature. Their writers set out to transform a difficult verse text into a readily intelligible prose version. By this means the paraphrast produced an independent technical treatise that did not need to be read in conjunction with its verse original. Considerations of style were secondary, but not totally neglected. Isabella Gualandri, the editor of the *Halieutica* paraphrase, describes that text[63] as "un lavoro che non dimostra la preoccupazione più comune alle parafrasi *strictiore sensu*, quella cioè dell'aderenza fedele al testo, puntualmente spiegato, ma che invece lo riassume, esponendolo con una certa libertà per quanto riguarda la successione dei varî elementi, in un discorso non privo di eleganza, elaborato retoricamente." She illustrates[64]

[60] Cf. Isabella Gualandri (ed.), *Eutecnii Paraphrasis in Nicandri Theriaca*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 25 (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino, 1968), pp.7-8.

[61] For the date and authorship of the *Halieutica* paraphrase see Isabella Gualandri (ed.), *Incerti Auctoris in Oppiani Halieutica Paraphrasis*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 18 (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino, 1968), pp.34-37; for the title and authorship of the *Ixeutica* and the author of the paraphrase see Antonio Garzya, 'Due note', *GIF* 10 (1957), pp.156-61.

[62] I quote from the edition of Otto Tüselmann, 'Die Paraphrase des Euteknios zu Oppians *Kynegetika*', *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse* n.f. 4 (1900-1901), p.8.

[63] Gualandri, *Incerti Auctoris* (above, n.61), p.34.

[64] Gualandri, pp.30-34, the section entitled 'Caratteri della parafrasi'. Her edition of Eutecnius' paraphrase of the *Theriaca* contains a similar section on the paraphrastic techniques employed, pp.12-17.

this stylistic elaboration with a number of examples, taken particularly from the prologue to the fourth book of the *Halieutica*, the invocation of Eros. The same point could be made with respect to the prologue of the fifth book, a digression on man's mastery over the beasts of land and sea and a comparison of the fierceness of land and sea creatures. Many of the stylistic refinements of that passage derive from the original; but others have been introduced by the paraphrast. There are three examples of isocolon:[65]

i) οὔτε λέοντα σώζει τὸ θράσος οὔτε ἀετὸν ῥύεται <ἡ> πτῆσις (59.11-12 Gualandri), corresponding to οὐδὲ λέοντα / ῥυσατ' ἀγηνορίη δμηθήμεναι, οὐδ' ἐσάωσεν / αἰετὸν ἠνεμόεις πτερύγων ῥόθος (V 14-16)

ii) ὑπερτεροῦντα δὲ ἦν τε μέγεθος ἦν τε θράσος ἦν τε ἰσχὺν ἐξετάζῃ τις (59.17-18 G.),[66] corresponding to ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκὴν / καὶ μέγεθος προβέβηκεν ἀναιδέα δείματα πόντου (V 23-24), and

iii) τούς γε μὴν κριούς, ἡμερωτάτους μὲν ἡ γῆ, φοβερωτάτους δὲ ἡ θάλασσα τρέφει (60.1-3 G.), corresponding to οἱ μὲν ἔασι / κριοὶ μηλονόμων τιθασὸν βοτόν, οὐ δὲ θαλάσσης / κριοῖς μειλιχίοισι συνοίσεται, ὅς κε πελάσσῃ. (V 32-34)

Example i) contains the figure anaphora (found also in Oppian) as well as isocolon; example ii) anaphora, tricolon and *adiunctio*;[67] example iii) *adiunctio* and homoeoptoton. In each case, the paraphrast recasts his original in order to achieve the desired stylistic effects. Evidently, he felt a certain stylistic elegance was compatible with his prime goal of clarity of expression. He achieves clarity principally by the elimination of poetic redundancy and the replacement of poetic vocabulary and forms by their prose equivalents. The argument follows much the same course as in Oppian, except in one respect. Oppian postpones the justification for his digression on the comparative fierceness of land and sea creatures – that, fierce though they are, sea creatures too die at the hands of man (ἐκ δ' ἁλιήων / ὄλλυνται, V 42-43) – until the digression is complete. This order is maintained in the prose version: the justification follows the digression (ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἁλίεων, ὡς ἐρῶ, διαφθείρονται, 60.9-10 G.). But the paraphrast also introduces this justification before

[65] Examples ii) and iii) are not perfect instances of isocolon since the verbs ἐξετάζῃ τις and τρέφει, if included in the final colon, destroy the parallelism. But it is evident that the symmetrical structure of the phrases beginning ἦν τε ... and ἡμερωτάτους μέν ..., φοβερωτάτους δέ ..., create an effect identical to that of isocolon.

[66] Cf. Gualandri, *Incerti Auctoris* (above, n.61), p.33.

[67] *Rhet. ad Her.* IV 27,38: *adiunctio est cum verbum quo res conprehenditur non interponimus, sed aut primum aut postremum conlocamus.*

launching into the comparison of land and sea creatures (τά τε τῆς θαλάσσης διαφθείρουσι κήτη, 59.15 G.). There is no parallel in Oppian to this first reference to the slaughter of sea creatures. The reference is introduced solely to make the progression of the argument more explicit; its function is explanatory.

Supplementary explanatory material is often introduced into paraphrases of this kind. Such are the geographical details supplied by Eutecnius in his paraphrase of the *Theriaca*.[68] Similar explanatory supplements were included in the paraphrase of the *Odyssey* by Demosthenes Thrax, judging by the fragments preserved in Eustathius.[69] For this reason I am inclined to consider Demosthenes' work an exegetical literary paraphrase, although there is no doubt that as a paraphrase of Homer, the school text *par excellence*, it would be of great value in the schools. According to the *Suda*, Demosthenes also wrote a Μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν Ἡσιόδου Θεογονίαν and a Μετάφρασις Ἰλιάδος, although the existence of the last work has been called into question.[70] Demosthenes' paraphrases possess a certain stylistic sophistication. He incorporates an apostrophe of Zeus into one fragment; another, introduced by Eustathius with the words ὁ παραφράστης Δημοσθένης καλλιρρημονῶν πεζολογικῶς ... γράφει, contains an antithesis not in Homer.[71] The fragments do not permit more definite conclusions, but it looks as though Demosthenes' paraphrases, while primarily exegetical, were not without rhetorical refinement.

[68] Gualandri, *Eutecnii Paraphrasis* (above, n.60), p.14. Gualandri cites a number of other examples on pp.12-14 of her edition of the paraphrase of the *Theriaca* and p.30 of her edition of the *Halieutica* paraphrase.

[69] The fragments of Demosthenes Thrax are collected by Benno Gehrmann, *Demosthenis Thracis* Μεταβολῶν Ὀδυσσείας *fragmenta*, diss. (Königsberg, 1890). Parsons (above, n.5), p. 140, gives a useful account of Demosthenes' paraphrastic method. For interpretative expansions see frs. 16 and 18 Gehrmann. Demosthenes paraphrases the Homeric lines (*Od.* X 350-51) γίγνονται δ' ἄρα ταί γ' ἔκ τε κρηνέων ἀπό τ' ἀλσέων / ἔκ θ' ἱερῶν ποταμῶν, οἵ τ' εἰς ἅλαδε προρέουσι as γένεσις δὲ τούτων οὐχ οἵαπερ ἡ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ δι' ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἅλση καὶ πηγαὶ ἐκείνας φύουσιν (fr. 16), and XI 281 καὶ Χλῶριν εἶδον περικαλλέα as εἶδον ἐνταῦθα Χλῶριν, λέγω δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς Χλώριδος (fr. 18).

[70] The *Suda* passage does not mention a paraphrase of the *Odyssey*. This has led many scholars to believe that the reference to the *Iliad* in the *Suda* is a mistake, and that the *Odyssey* paraphrase is meant (e.g. Gehrmann, pp.7-9; cf. Cohn, 'Demosthenes Thrax', *R.E.* 5 [Stuttgart, 1905], col. 189). Lehrs (above, ch.2, n.43), p.51, argues that Demosthenes wrote paraphrases of both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*.

[71] Frs. 2 and 22 Gehrmann, respectively. The former is a paraphrase of *Od.* I 52-54, ὃν (sc. τὸν ὀμφαλόν) σύ ..., ὦ Ζεῦ, τήν τε θαλάσσης γνῶσιν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ τὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἕδραν συνέχειν ἔταξας, the latter of *Od.* XVIII 1-4, a description of the beggar Irus, καὶ ἦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο γαστὴρ μόνον καὶ σχῆμα τηνάλλως, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀχρεῖος.

One other type of paraphrase remains to be considered. It will be the concern of the rest of this study. Unlike the exegetical literary paraphrase, this second type of literary paraphrase is not primarily interpretative. Rather it uses paraphrastic technique to compose what amounts to a separate work of literature. Such paraphrases typically involve a great deal of rhetorical embellishment, often of a stylistically simple original. Many of them are poetic versions of prose originals. The biblical epic falls into this category, along with a number of poetic versions of hagiographical texts.[72] Although particularly associated with Christian literature, such paraphrases were also written by pagan authors. Porphyry, in his *Life of Plotinus*, refers to a poetic paraphrase of the Ἀτλαντικός of Plato (i.e. the *Critias*), written by Ζωτικὸς κριτικός τε καὶ ποιητικός, a friend of Plotinus.[73] During the fifth century another neo-Platonic writer, Marinus, composed a hexameter paraphrase of his own prose work Πρόκλος ἢ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας.[74] The prose work survives, but the metrical version is lost. Finally, Soterichos of Oasis (late third century) wrote an epic life of Apollonius of Tyana.[75] In all likelihood he made extensive use of earlier prose accounts.

[72] The Empress Eudocia (fifth century) wrote a poetic version of the legend of St. Cyprian of Antioch, large portions of which survive. They are edited by Arthur Ludwich, *Eudociae Augustae, Proclii Lycii, Claudiani Carminum Graecorum Reliquiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897), pp.16-79. Of the two books of *De Vita et Miraculis D. Theclae* by Basilius of Seleucia (fifth century), one in prose and one in verse, only the former survives (cf. Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 2nd ed., 5 vols. [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1913-32; vol. 3, 1st ed., 1912], vol. 4, p.301). According to the *Suda* the Egyptian poet Christodorus Illustrius wrote a metrical Θαύματα τῶν ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ (cf. Schmid-Stählin, vol. 2.2, p.961, F. Baumgarten, 'Christodoros', *R.E.* 3 [Stuttgart, 1899], coll. 2450-51). The Latin metrical lives of St. Martin by Paulinus of Périgueux (fifth century) and Venantius Fortunatus (sixth century), which are based on Sulpicius Severus, still survive in their entirety.

[73] Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 7, Ζωτικὸς κριτικός τε καὶ ποιητικός, ὃς καὶ τὰ Ἀντιμάχου διορθωτικὰ πεποίηται καὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν εἰς ποίησιν μετέβαλε πάνυ ποιητικῶς.

[74] *Suda*, Μαρῖνος, Νεαπολίτης, φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ ... ἔγραψε βίον Πρόκλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ καταλογάδην καὶ ἐπικῶς (III 324.12-14 Adler).

[75] *Suda*, Σωτήριχος, Ὀασίτης, ἐποποιός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ ... βίον Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως (IV 401.11-14 Adler). It is interesting that the content of pagan and Christian paraphrases tends to be similar. The *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and Marinus' *Life of Proclus* have been described as pagan hagiography (E.R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965], p.31). Zoticus' paraphrase of a work of Plato must have been regarded in much the same fashion by neo-Platonists as a paraphrase of the Bible was regarded by Christians.

Two other types of literary paraphrase deserve mention,[76] although they are not of immediate concern to the present study: fable paraphrases and Greek iambic verse paraphrases. Fables are by their nature constantly retold. Many of the fables of Phaedrus and Babrius are traditional, recast in metrical form. Their works in turn were paraphrased in prose during the succeeding centuries.[77] Schools, too, used fables as handy elementary texts. Students might be asked to retell a fable in their own words. Two papyri have been found which contain what are probably such fable paraphrases.[78] But the fable never enjoyed complete acceptance as a literary form in its own right, although it was recognized that fables might profitably be incorporated into larger works of literature.[79] For that reason, it will be sufficient merely to note the existence of such fable paraphrases.

Greek iambic paraphrases are primarily a phenomenon of the Byzantine period. Paraphrases were produced of texts both religious and secular, verse and prose.[80] The iambic paraphrase therefore falls outside the chronological scope of this study. But a number of such works were already being written in the fifth and sixth centuries. For instance, Marianus (late fifth, early sixth century) composed iambic paraphrases of the hexameter verse of Theocritus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Callimachus, Aratus and Nicander among others.[81] The

[76] The didactic poetry of Nicander and Aratus must have had much in common with the verse paraphrase. The entry in the *Suda* for Nicander lists the following: Προγνωστικὰ δι' ἐπῶν· μεταπέφρασται δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους Προγνωστικῶν (III 465.25-26 Adler). The paraphrase also has affinities with the epitome. Many of the techniques described by I. Opelt, 'Epitome', *RAC* 5 (Stuttgart, 1962), coll. 959-62, are identical with paraphrastic procedures. Paraphrastic techniques were often used too in citations of other works; cf. Stemplinger (above, ch.2, n.1), pp.245-53, Wijkström (above, ch.2, n.1), *passim*, and Harald Hagendahl, 'Methods of Citation in Post-Classical Latin Prose', *Eranos* 45 (1947), pp.119-28. Hagendahl distinguishes two methods of citation – literal quotation and paraphrase – and illustrates them from Lactantius and Minucius Felix.

[77] For paraphrases of Phaedrus see C.M. Zander, *De Generibus et Libris Paraphrasium Phaedrianarum* (Lund: Malström, 1897), and Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (above, ch.2, n.38), p.lxxxiii, and of Babrius Perry, p.lxvii.

[78] *P. Grenf.* II 84, Zalateo 208, Ziebarth (above, ch.2, n.39), p.17, no.38 and *CPL* 38. Cf. Quintilian I 9,2 and Beudel (above, ch.2, n.39), pp.34-37 and 51-56, for the use of fables in education.

[79] E.g. Aristotle, *Rhet.* II 20,5-8 1393b-1394a; Cicero, *De Inv.* I 17,25; *Rhet. ad Her.* I 6,10; Quintilian V 11,19-21.

[80] For instance, apart from the paraphrases of Marianus referred to below, there was an iambic fable paraphrase (Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* [above, ch.2, n.38], pp.lxiv-v) and Johannes Kyriotes (tenth century) wrote an iambic paraphrase of the nine Odes of the Old Testament (Krumbacher [above, ch.2, n.69], p.734).

[81] *Suda*, Μαριανός ... ἔγραψε βιβλία τοσαῦτα· Μετάφρασιν Θεοκρίτου, ἐν ἰάμβοις, γρν', Μετάφρασιν Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν Ἀργοναυτικῶν ἐν ἰάμβοις, εχη',

iambic metre was increasingly being employed in genres which had up to that time been the exclusive preserve of the hexameter.[82]

Μετάφρασιν Καλλιμάχου Ἑκάλης, ὕμνων καὶ τῶν Αἰτίων καὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐν ἰάμβοις, ζωι΄, Μετάφρασιν Ἀράτου ἐν ἰάμβοις, αρμ΄, Μετάφρασιν Νικάνδρου τῶν Θηριακῶν ἐν ἰάμβοις, ατο΄ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς μεταφράσεις (III 323.28 - 324.4 Adler).

[82] Schmid-Stählin, vol. 2.2, pp.973-74.

4

CHRISTIAN RECEPTION OF THE PARAPHRASE

THE BIBLICAL EPIC

Biblical Epic as Verse Paraphrase

The connection between the biblical epic and the school exercise of the paraphrase was first argued by Golega[1] in 1930 in a study of Nonnus' paraphrase of John's Gospel. His conclusions were adopted by Curtius[2] and have received widespread acceptance for the Latin as well as the Greek biblical epic. But recently this consensus has been questioned by Herzog, who downplays the importance of the paraphrase, and prefers to situate the biblical epic in a specifically Christian tradition.[3] For Herzog, as for me, the biblical epic is an expression of the devotional needs of the Christian community. But my approach insists on the importance of rhetoric and the exercise of the paraphrase in the development of this new branch of Christian literature in the West.[4] While Herzog is concerned with the

[1] Golega (above, ch.3, n.1), pp.92-98. It had already been pointed out by Ludwich (above, ch.3, n.6), vol. 2, pp.483, n.1, and 599.

[2] Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.147-48. Dieter Kartschoke, *Bibeldichtung: Studien zur Geschichte der epischen Bibelparaphrase von Juvencus bis Otfrid von Weissenburg* (Munich: Fink, 1975), p.31, considers the relationship with the school exercise of the paraphrase quite evident.

[3] Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.lxx-lxxii, 60-68, and 155-211. He derives the biblical epic from the practice of the early Christian fathers of citing passages from the pagan poets – especially Virgil – for apologetic and interpretative purposes. At the time of writing only volume I has appeared, covering Juvencus and Cyprianus Gallus.

[4] The situation is less problematic in the Eastern tradition, where Christian prejudice against classical literature and the educational tradition derived from it was weaker than in the West; cf. Thraede, 'Epos', coll. 997-98, 1014; H. Fuchs, 'Bildung', *RAC* 2 (Stuttgart, 1954), coll. 353-54. Herzog concerns himself only with the derivation of the Latin biblical epic.

differentiating characteristics of the biblical epic as a genre, I wish to set it in a continuing literary tradition, which can be traced to the classical period.

To establish this relationship the question of Christian hostility to pagan literature and to pagan schools in particular must first be addressed. It is hardly likely that a Christian poet would consciously adopt the procedures of an educational system to which, as a Christian, he might be expected to be violently opposed. As it happens, this particular aspect of the confrontation between Christianity and the classical world has been much discussed in the literature[5] and general agreement has been reached.[6] I can, therefore, be brief. There persisted among Church Fathers of the West an ascetic tradition of suspicion of, and often outright hostility to, pagan literature and learning. This attitude finds expression from

[5] In general see Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), vol. 2, pp.521-34, and Pierre de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature chrétienne*, 3rd ed., rev. Gustave Bardy (Paris: Société d'édition «les belles-lettres», 1947), pp.5-11 and 14-43. Gerard L. Ellspermann, *The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning*, Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies 82 (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1949), has collected many references bearing on this question from the earliest Western fathers to Jerome and Augustine. Harald Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and other Christian Writers*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 6 (Göteborg: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958), pp.188-89, has studied the same question from the point of view of the use of the pagan classics by the Church fathers. He has applied the same method to Augustine in *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, 2 vols. in 1, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 20 (Göteborg: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1967). For Augustine's attitude to the classics see further Marrou, *Saint Augustin* (above, ch.2, n.81), and Testard (above, ch.2, n.61). Jean Doignon's *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil: Recherches sur la naissance, l'enseignement et l'épreuve d'une foi épiscopale au milieu du IVe siècle* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1971) amply documents the influence of the procedures of the schools on Hilary's exegetical method. For a summary of attitudes to pagan learning in the West see Fuchs, coll. 355-57. Bardy has shown in a series of articles, 'L'église et l'enseignement pendant les trois premiers siècles', *RScR* 12 (1932), pp.1-28, 'L'église et l'enseignement au IVe siècle', *RScR* 14 (1934), pp.525-49, and 15 (1935), pp.1-27, that Christians made no attempt in either the East or the West to set up their own schools in competition with the traditional schools of grammar and rhetoric. This held true not only for the first four centuries A.D., but "for as long as there remained anything of the ancient way of life," Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, pp.399 and 5. For the knowledge and imitation of Virgil in this period see A. Hudson-Williams, 'Virgil and the Christian Latin Poets', *PVS* 6 (1966-67), pp.11-21.

[6] I quote just one judgement as typical of many, that of Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers*, p.311: "Christianity triumphed over the pagan religions, but it had to yield to the pagan school-system, the last stronghold of classical culture. In the first four centuries the Christians did not dream of creating Christian schools; the pagan educational system, to which they were once, at best, indifferent, became in course of time indispensable to them. The pagan schools of grammar and rhetoric exercised upon them an influence that can hardly be overrated."

Tertullian to Gregory the Great.[7] But despite such hostility the Fathers generally recognized the utility of the traditional literary training for Christians.[8] The liberal arts, especially grammar and rhetoric, maintained their supremacy.[9] The methods of literary interpretation practised in the grammar school were especially valuable for a religion that relied so heavily on the exegesis of a sacred text. Despite spasmodically expressed dissatisfaction with pagan education, no attempt was made to provide a specifically Christian alternative. Indeed, many of the best known Fathers of the first four centuries were teachers of rhetoric before their conversion: Arnobius, Lactantius, Cyprian, Marius Victorinus and Augustine. Lactantius was even chosen by Constantine to undertake the education of the emperor's son, Crispus.[10] And if at times there is a certain ambiguity in the expressed opinions of Western Fathers concerning the part pagan learning should play in the intellectual formation of a Christian, the style of their writings – whether they were professional rhetoricians or merely trained in the rhetorical schools like Hilary of Poitiers and Jerome – is unambiguous testimony to the continuing influence of stylistic values and modes of thought learnt in the schools. Even Augustine, the most original mind among the early Fathers, expressed his theories of Christian style in the traditional terminology of classical rhetoric (in the *De Doctrina Christiana*).[11] Throughout late antiquity, then, the tradition of pagan learning reigned supreme. To be educated meant to be educated in the schools of grammar and rhetoric. Even the crisis of the third century failed to interrupt that continuity.[12] The general

[7] Tertullian, *Spect.* 17 (*CSEL* 20, 19.18-22); Gregory the Great, dedicatory letter to the *Moralia in Job* (*MGH. Ep.* 1, 357.37-41) and *Ep.* XI 34 (*MGH. Ep.* 2, 303.9-23). In practice Gregory's attitude was not quite so rigid; cf. Fontaine (above, ch.2, n.81), vol. 1, pp.33-36, and M.L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1957), pp.109-10.

[8] Tertullian himself, while forbidding Christians to teach in the rhetorical schools, recognized that secular learning was a necessary preliminary to *divina studia* (*Idol.* 10; *CSEL* 20, 39.22-41.8).

[9] For the canon and terminology of the *artes liberales* see Kuhnert (above, ch.2, n.81), and Marrou, *Saint Augustin* (above, ch.2, n.81), pp.211-75; for the primacy of grammar and rhetoric, Marrou, p.111; for the transmission of the *artes liberales* to the Middle Ages, Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.36-42.

[10] Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 318 (*GCS* 47, 230.12-15); *De vir. ill.* 80.

[11] For Augustine's use of Cicero in the *Doctr. Christ.* see Testard (above, ch.2, n.61), vol. 1, pp.189-92; Hagendahl, *Augustine* (above, n.5), vol. 2, pp.558-68. This is not to say that Augustine's theories contain nothing specifically Christian, far from it, but only that at this period stylistic theories could find expression only in the categories of ancient rhetoric.

[12] Cf. Fuhrmann (above, ch.1, n.9), p.71.

picture is sufficiently clear. It remains to focus more narrowly on one particular aspect of literary instruction, the rhetorical exercises practised in the schools. To what extent do they remain the same as those practised, for instance, in Quintilian's day?

In the absence of papyrological evidence for rhetorical exercises in the West, three sources of information are available: references in contemporary writers to school exercises, works of literature that reveal the influence of school exercises and references in technical treatises of rhetoric to such exercises. The exercise most frequently referred to by Christian Latin writers is the *declamatio* or, more specifically, the *controversia*. Lactantius[13] recognizes the benefits of *exercitatio illa fictarum litium*; Jerome himself had frequently composed declamations and refers to the declamation as a standard school exercise.[14] *Progymnasmata* are less often referred to, perhaps because they were more elementary and therefore less representative of rhetorical education as a whole. But both Jerome and Augustine refer to the writing of *laudes* in schools and Jerome to the *loci communes* that were a required part of such compositions.[15] Augustine also recalls being required at school in Madaura to compose an ethopoeia on a Virgilian theme, Juno's grief at being unable to bar the Trojans from Italy.[16] Finally, Jerome's reference to *communes rhetorum loci* against stepmothers[17] may also bear on *progymnasmata*. The *loci communes* were both constituent parts of other *progymnasmata* and might themselves be the subject of separate exercises in the standard progymnasmatic curriculum.[18]

The influence of rhetorical exercises on literature in this period

[13] Lactantius, *Inst.* I 1,10 (*CSEL* 19, 3.12-14); the passage is quoted below (p.68).

[14] *Ep.* LXXXI 1,3 (*CSEL* 55, 106.16-17): *ego qui saepissime figuratas controversias declamavi*; *Adv. Pelag.* I 23 (*PL* 23, 540B): *in ipsis controversiis in quibus quondam pueri lusimus*. Cf. *Ep.* LII 4,1 (*CSEL* 54, 420.7-11); *Adv. Rufin.* I 30 (*PL* 23, 441B); *C. Ioh.* 2 (*PL* 23, 372B); *In Os.* 2,16-17 (*PL* 25, 839A), 11,13 (*PL* 25, 911C).

[15] Jerome, *Ep.* LXIX 6,1 (*CSEL* 54, 689.3-4): *reddamus, quod paulo ante promisimus, et de schola rhetorum aquarum laudes et baptismi praedicemus*; Augustine, *In Ps.* 144,7 (*PL* 37, 1873): *proponuntur laudes pueris in schola et omnia talia proponuntur quae laudentur, quae Deus est operatus: proponitur homini laus solis, laus caeli, laus terrae; ut ad minora etiam veniam, laus rosae, laus lauri*. For the *loci communes* of a *laus* see Jerome, *Vita Hilar., prol.* (*PL* 23, 29C); *Ep.* CVIII 3,4 (*CSEL* 55, 309.9-11) and *Ep.* CXXX 3,1 (*CSEL* 56, 177.14-20).

[16] *Confessions* I 17,27 – for this passage see above, p.22.

[17] *Ep.* LIV 15,4 (*CSEL* 54, 482.25-483.1).

[18] For instance, Libanius' *Progymnasmata* includes *loci communes* against a murderer, a traitor, a poisoner and a tyrant. It is easy to see how in the rhetorical scheme of things a stepmother might equally well be the subject of such a *locus communis*. Ennodius, *Dictio* XV, is a development of just such a *locus communis* against stepmothers.

is extensive. The tendency to concentrate on individual episodes, often developed in the form of an ethopoeia or ecphrasis, to the detriment of the composition as a whole is a characteristic of late poetry.[19] Rhetoricians often published such exercises as demonstrations of their talent. Ennodius' *Dictiones* is no more than such a collection of rhetorical *tours de force*. It includes *controversiae*, *laudes*, *loci communes* and ethopoeiae. Dracontius (late fifth century), a near contemporary of Ennodius and writer of the *Laudes Dei*, produced a similar collection of occasional pieces, the *Romulea*. It includes *controversiae*, *narrationes* and ethopoeiae,[20] but is in verse.

References to rhetorical exercises in Latin technical treatises are scarce. The only systematic treatments of *progymnasmata* are late (Priscian and Emporius in the sixth century, Isidore in the seventh), and the most extensive, that of Priscian, is a translation of Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata* and therefore unreliable evidence for Western practices.[21] Although Priscian includes the full range of exercises by now standard in Greek treatises, Emporius treats only the ethopoeia, *locus communis* and *laus*, Isidore the *legum laus*, *sententia* and chreia, *anasceua* and *catasceua*, prosopopoeia, ethopoeia, *thesis* and *hypothesis*. It would be unwise, however, to attempt to draw conclusions about the weakness of the progymnasmatic tradition in the West from the late and rather sparse evidence presented by the rhetorical handbooks. The references to *progymnasmata* in Jerome and Augustine and the evident influence they had on late Latin literature are sufficient refutation of any such conclusion. Moreover, Fontaine's study of the progymnasmatic section in Isidore of Seville leads him to suppose that the tradition was far from weak.[22] A number of parallels with Greek progymnasmatic handbooks and the inclusion of some examples from Greek literature can best be explained, in his opinion, as elements of a Greco-Latin synthesis going back to the Roman rhetoricians of the late Republic and early Empire. It seems certain that a Greco-Roman progymnasmatic tradition not represented in extant rhetorical handbooks until

[19] Cf. Alan Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.266-73. Many of the poems in the *Anthologia Latina* are versified *progymnasmata*; e.g. 198, 223, 240, 244, 255 Riese are ethopoeiae, 376 and 389 *laudes*, 232 and 234 *loci communes* and 235 an ecphrasis.

[20] Dracontius, *Rom.* 9 is an appeal to Achilles to ransom Hector's body. As such it combines elements of the *catasceue* and the ethopoeia.

[21] For the circumstances under which Priscian's translation was produced see Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, trans. Harry E. Wedeck (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp.322-30.

[22] Fontaine (above, ch.2, n.81), vol. 1, pp.326-28.

Isidore survived in the schools of the West. The sections on school exercises in Quintilian probably best represent this tradition.[23] Such an assumption accords well with what we know of the influence of Quintilian's *Institutio* in late antiquity. Hilary's exegetical methods follow a scholastic tradition that can be traced back to Quintilian[24] – Jerome already knew of Hilary's imitation of Quintilian.[25] Jerome himself knew the *Institutio* well; it is included in a list he gives of textbooks he used in school.[26] In using Quintilian and the rhetorical tradition that grew up partly on the foundations laid by Quintilian, the Fathers of the fourth and early fifth centuries sanctioned the use of that tradition by Christians in the centuries to come.

[23] Ibid., p.328: "Cette tradition se laissait deviner à travers les indications de Quintilien et ses allusions à des exercices préparatoires cicéroniens."

[24] Cf. Doignon (above, n.5), *passim*. His conclusions are summarized on p.520. The *progymnasmata* themselves provided categories that could be applied to Christian exegesis. Cassiodorus compares Ps. 70 (*CCL* 97, 628.28) to an ethopoeia (though he is thinking here of the figure of that name rather than the school exercise, in so far as a distinction is possible), 92 and 144 to *laudes* (*CCL* 98, 843.27-32 and 1297.352-57). The use of the word *modus* to indicate a division of a psalm, which Ursula Hahner, *Cassiodors Psalmenkommentar: sprachliche Untersuchungen*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 13 (Munich: Arbeo Gesellschaft, 1973), pp.78-79 and 166, is inclined to think original to Cassiodorus, is probably also borrowed from progymnasmatic terminology. Hahner, indeed, acknowledges this possibility herself, p.79, n.35. For the fundamental importance of rhetorical categories for Cassiodorus' Psalm exegesis see Reinhard Schlieben, *Christliche Theologie und Philologie in der Spätantike: die schulwissenschaftlichen Methoden der Psalmenexegese Cassiodors*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 46 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), *passim* (esp. pp.16-24 on ethopoeiae).

[25] *Ep.* LXX 5,3 (*CSEL* 54, 707.17-18): *Hilarius . . . duodecim Quintiliani libros et stilo imitatus est et numero*. Hermann Kling, *De Hilario Pictaviensi artis rhetoricae ipsiusque ut fertur institutionis oratoriae Quintilianeae studioso*, diss. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909) amply documents this observation of Jerome.

[26] *Ep.* CXXV 12,1 (*CSEL* 56, 131.12-14): *cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebraeis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi, ut post Quintiliani acumina Ciceronisque fluvios gravitatemque Frontonis et lenitatem Plinii alphabetum* (sc. *Hebraicum*) *discerem*; *Praef. Dan.* (*PL* 28, 1358C): *adolescentulus, post Quintiliani et Tullii lectionem ac flores rhetoricos*. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers* (above, n.5), pp.294-97, discusses Jerome's knowledge of Quintilian. The interpretation of the above passages presents certain difficulties, since Jerome believed the *Declamationes Maiores* to be a genuine work of Quintilian. But it is established that Jerome knew the *Institutio* and, since the quality of *acumina* is more appropriate to that work than the *Declamationes*, it is probably correct to assume the *Institutio* is meant here.

It is more doubtful that Augustine knew the *Institutio*. Paul Keseling, 'Augustin und Quintilian', in *Augustinus Magister*, Congrès international augustinien, Paris, 1954, 3 vols. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1954), vol. 1, pp.201-204, has studied the evidence and found it inconclusive. Hagendahl, *Augustine* (above, n.5), p.676, is less circumspect: "It seems to me to be not unlikely that he had some reminiscences of the *institutio oratoria*." It is certainly unlikely that Augustine was uninfluenced by rhetorical doctrine emanating ultimately from Quintilian, even if he was not familiar at first hand with its *fons et origo*.

There is, then, every reason to believe that *progymnasmata* continued to be written in the schools of late antiquity. The curriculum followed was probably similar to that outlined in Quintilian's *Institutio*. This conclusion is especially significant since Quintilian twice recommends the paraphrase as a valuable exercise. The fourth-century rhetorician, Fortunatianus, also recommends the paraphrase as a means to acquire *copia verborum* (*Ars Rhetorica* III 3; 144.12-15 Montefusco):

> quae igitur summa est exercitationis, id est quot partibus constat? quattuor. quibus? ut Graeca in Latinum convertas, ut difficilia scribas, ut μετάφρασιν facias, ut de tempore adsidue dicas.
>
> What then is the sum total of the training, that is of how many parts does it consist?' Four. 'What are they?' To turn Greek into Latin, to write on difficult subjects, *to produce a paraphrase*, to practise continually extempore speaking.

Although it is hazardous to use rhetorical treatises as evidence for contemporary school practice, the passage does reflect continued belief in the value of the paraphrase as a stylistic exercise. The juxtaposition of the exercises of paraphrase and translation recalls the similar juxtaposition in Quintilian (X 5,1ff.) and his pupil Pliny (*Ep.* VII 9), and suggests Fortunatianus is following a specifically Western tradition. But the decline in knowledge of Greek in the West[27] is likely to have made the exercise of translation increasingly impractical. To compensate for this process the paraphrase must have assumed greater importance.[28]

The evidence, though not abundant, is sufficient to establish the continuing practice of the paraphrase in the schools of late antiquity. But what prompted the biblical poets to enlist this rhetorical technique in the service of Christian literature? Let me try to outline my own view of the biblical epic's development, for which I claim no special originality, in an attempt to answer this question.

Juvencus is the first poet of biblical epic. His lifetime coincided with the last years of the life of the apologist Lactantius, whose *Divinae Institutiones* contains a number of passages which help to

[27] Cf. Fuchs (above, n.4), col. 349 (with bibliography), Fontaine (above, ch.2, n.81), vol. 1, p.212.

[28] Fortunatianus, it should be noted, is not concerned with the standard curriculum of the *progymnasmata*. His categories of stylistic exercises are much broader. In this he agrees with a tendency observable in other rhetorical handbooks, especially those of the West. For the anomalous position of the paraphrase among the *progymnasmata* see above, p.23.

explain Juvencus' reasons for versifying the Gospel story. Lactantius recognized that the low stylistic level, at least by the standards of classical rhetoric, of the Old Latin versions of the Bible deterred many educated pagans from putting any faith in the Scriptures.[29]

> haec in primis causa est cur aput sapientes et doctos et principes huius saeculi scriptura sancta fide careat, quod prophetae communi ac simplici sermone ut ad populum sunt locuti. (V 1,15; *CSEL* 19, 401. 5-7)
>
> This is a chief reason why the Scriptures lack belief among the wise, the learned, and the secular rulers, because the prophets spoke in an everyday, straightforward language as if to the people.

Despite condemning such concern with form rather than content,[30] Lactantius was well aware that to appeal to a cultivated audience his writing must conform to the stylistic standards of his day – that is, the standards established in the schools of rhetoric:

> multum tamen nobis exercitatio illa fictarum litium contulit, ut nunc maiore copia et facultate dicendi causam veritatis peroremus. quae licet possit sine eloquentia defendi, ut est a multis saepe defensa, tamen claritate ac nitore sermonis inlustranda et quodammodo adserenda est, ut potentius in animos influat et vi sua instructa et luce orationis ornata. (I 1,10; *CSEL* 19, 3.12-18)
>
> Yet that training in fictitious lawsuits contributed much to our present ability to plead the case of the truth with greater abundance and facility of speech. For though the truth can be defended without rhetorical skill, as indeed it has often been defended by many, yet its illumination, and to a certain extent even its presentation, depend on clarity and splendour of language if it is to steal into men's minds, relying on both its own appeal and the adornments of a brilliant style.

[29] This is, of course, a commonplace of early Christian writers: Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), pp.512-16, Labriolle (above, n.5), pp.20-22; cf. Marrou, *Saint Augustin* (above, ch.2, n.81), pp.473-77. Augustine's digression on the style of the Bible in the fourth book of the *De Doctrina Christiana* is intended to refute such criticisms; cf. Marrou, p.476, n.1, Bardy, 'L'église et l'enseignement au IVe siècle' (above, n.5), p.26. For the inhibiting effect such considerations had on Christian Latin poetry see P.G. Van der Nat, *Divinus Vere Poeta: Enige Beschouwingen over Onststaan en Karakter der Christelijke Latijnse Poëzie* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), pp.13-14, and 'Zu den Voraussetzungen der christlichen lateinischen Literatur: die Zeugnisse von Minucius Felix und Lactanz', in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident*, Fondation Hardt, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 23 (Vandoeuvres: Fondation Hardt, 1976), pp.192-94 and 200-201.

[30] *nemo rem veritate ponderat, sed ornatu* (*Div. Inst.* V 1,17; *CSEL* 19, 401.13-14). The contrast of form and content (*verba*:*res*) is another commonplace of Christian apologetic, deriving from ancient literary theory; cf. Ellspermann (above, n.5), pp.89-91, 121-22, 133-35, 230 and 238, n.295; Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, p.349. Fontaine, *Aspects et problèmes de la prose d'art latine au IIIe siècle: la genèse des styles latins chrétiens*, Lezioni «Augusto Rostagni», vol. 4 (Torino: Erasmo, 1968), pp.161-62, points out that in emphasizing content over style Christian literary theories had affinities with those of the Stoics. For the significance of the Lactantius passages here quoted see Van der Nat, *Divinus Vere Poeta*, pp.19-20, and 'Zu den Voraussetzungen', pp.215-25, and Manfred Fuhrmann, 'Ad Galli Cantum: ein Hymnus des Prudenz als Paradigma christlicher Dichtung', *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 14,3 (1971), pp.87-89.

The Christian Latin writers of the third century helped to meet this need to some extent; but the problem of the Latin Bible remained. This is the background against which Juvencus' venture should be seen. He wished to present the events of Christ's life (*Christi vitalia gesta*, *Praef.* 19) in a style which would not offend the literary sensibilities of the educated classes. In short, he wished to rewrite the biblical narrative in a stylistically improved form; that is, he wished to paraphrase it. The exercise of the paraphrase was exactly such an elaboration of a stylistically simple text. It is idle to suppose that Juvencus, who must have been brought up in the traditional classical educational system[31] – after all there was no other – was not influenced in his decision to recast the biblical text, as well as in the methods he used to perform that recasting, by what must have been to him the familiar school exercise of the paraphrase. Juvencus himself describes his Gospel poem as a stylistic elaboration of the Scriptures:

> has mea mens fidei vires sanctique timoris
> cepit et in tantum lucet mihi gratia Christi,
> versibus ut nostris divinae gloria legis
> ornamenta libens caperet terrestria linguae. (IV 802-805)
>
> My mind had received such strength of faith and reverent fear and the grace of Christ shone on me so strongly that the glory of the holy law readily received the earthly adornments of language.

Christian apologetic had contrasted the content of the Christian message (*res*) with purely external stylistic elaboration (*ornatus*)[32] such as appealed to contemporary literary taste. Juvencus sought to bring the two elements into a new synthesis. The antithesis *divinae*

[31] If nothing else, Juvencus' knowledge of Virgil, the school author *par excellence*, would be proof of his traditional classical education.

[32] Above, n.30. For this epilogue see Herzog, pp.xlvi, 165, 183 and 193, and Charles Witke, *Numen Litterarum: The Old and the New in Latin Poetry from Constantine to Gregory the Great*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp.201-202. Compare also P.G. Van der Nat, 'Die *Praefatio* der Evangelienparaphrase des Iuvencus', in *Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia Iano Henrico Waszink ... oblata* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1973), pp.254-55, and Franz Quadlbauer, 'Zur '*Invocatio*' des Iuvencus', *GB* 2 (1974), p.206, n.50.

gloria legis : *ornamenta* ... *terrestria linguae*[33] makes this point very clearly. The word *libens*, if not simply pleonastic, is probably intended to hint at the originality of Juvencus' undertaking. There is no conflict between scriptural content and rhetorical form. Finally, the word *ornamenta*, a technical term of rhetoric, is proof, if proof were needed, that Juvencus conceives of his undertaking in the traditional terms of classical rhetoric.

Juvencus' choice of poetry as paraphrastic medium need occasion no difficulty. It is true that rhetorical treatises refer only to prose paraphrases.[34] But poetic paraphrases do exist of Virgilian (*P.S.I.* 2, 142, *Anth. Lat.* 255) and Homeric (*P. Oxy.* 42, 3002) texts. The omission of any reference to verse paraphrases in the theoretical treatises reflects educational practice. Despite the confident pronouncement of a number of scholars, there is very little evidence that verse composition was a regular part of the ancient school curriculum.[35] Certainly many Romans were accomplished versifiers at an early age. The most striking evidence of this is an inscription concerning one Q. Sulpicius Maximus who died at the age of eleven after winning the prize for Greek verse in A.D. 94 at the Capitoline Games,[36] but many other youthful poets and poetasters are known.[37] Nevertheless, no ancient authority explicitly refers to verse composition as a school exercise. Both Quintilian (X 5,15) and Pliny (*Ep.* VII 9,9-10) recommend writing verse, but only as recreation, not as part of the school curriculum. Poetry is typically seen as a diversion, an amusement (*lusus*) for the writer's less serious moments. It is likely that a student would try his hand at writing poetry while still at the school of the *grammaticus*, inspired by his first introduction to poetry there; a taste for poetic composition might then remain with him all his life (cf. Ovid, *Tristia* IV 10,19-26). But the writing of poetry was probably an out-of-school activity. Verse composition certainly does

[33] Note the careful inconcinnity of the adjectives. *Divinae* (not *caelestis*, which would have been metrically possible) agrees with the genitive *legis*, *terrestria* with the accusative *ornamenta*.

[34] This objection is raised by Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.65-67. It should be noted that the influence of school exercises in prose on both Greek and Latin poetry is well documented (cf. above, n.19).

[35] Jullien (above, ch.2, n.4), pp.326-31; Paul Monceaux, *Les Africains: Étude sur la littérature d'Afrique – les paiens* (Paris: Lecène-Oudin, 1894), pp.54-56; and A.S. Wilkins, *Roman Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), pp.74-75. Cf. Marrou, *Saint Augustin* (above, ch.2, n.81), p.54, n.2.

[36] *CIL* VI 33976. His subject is an ethopoeia, τίσιν ἂν λόγοις χρήσαιτο Ζεῦς ἐπιτιμῶν Ἡλίῳ ὅτι τὸ ἅρμα ἔδωκε Φαέθοντι.

[37] Cf. Jullien (above, ch.2, n.4), pp.326-28.

not seem to have been a regular part of grammatical or rhetorical instruction. Professional rhetors often tried their hand at occasional verse, but this was probably only a reflection of the prevailing spirit of literary dilettantism that is revealed in many of Pliny's letters. It need have no bearing on their methods of instruction.[38] The papyri contain a number of verse compositions generally identified as school exercises. But the evidence on which such identifications are made is rarely conclusive.[39] It seems probable that some teachers offered instruction in verse composition, but the papyri give little reason to qualify the impression gained from the literary sources[40] that such instruction must have played a very minor role in the overall educational curriculum.

More importantly, the objection that the verse paraphrase finds no sanction in paraphrastic theory depends on a qualitative distinction between prose and verse which owes more to modern preconceptions than to ancient literary theory. The sophistic movement, represented by Gorgias and his pupil Isocrates, was responsible for blurring the distinction. For Gorgias verse differs from prose only in the addition of metre; it was λόγος ἔμμετρος (cf. *Helen* 9). Isocrates developed a new form of oratory – later called epideictic –

[38] For rhetors who wrote poetry see Jullien, pp.330-31; M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin: Introduction à l'histoire des écoles carolingiennes* (Paris: Picard, 1905), pp.67 and 101, for similar dilettantism in late antiquity. Apparently the same situation prevailed in Augustan Rome; cf. Horace, *Ep.* II 1,117, *scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*. Jerome quotes this line of Horace with regard to a literary fashion of his own day, the writing of centos of Homer and Virgil (*Ep.* LIII 7; *CSEL* 54, 453.4); cf. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers* (above, n.5), pp.188-89.

[39] Moore (above, ch.3, n.51), pp.319 and 325-28, has no hesitation in declaring the paraphrase of *Aeneid* I 477-93 discussed in the previous chapter (*P.S.I.* II 142; *CPL* 19; above, pp.52-53) a school exercise, but Cavenaile, in the *CPL* and in 'Un pastiche de Virgile' (above, ch.3, n.49), pp.285-88, is more circumspect. Cavenaile believes it is the work of an "apprenti écrivain," who had learnt Latin in the Egyptian schools. He stops short of identifying it as a school exercise. Cf. also Zalateo 191, 193 and 196 / Pack 2. 1831, 1844 and 1843, all on Homeric themes. The last is on one face of a diptych which carries on its other face an exercise in handwriting. In this case there is more reason to believe that the passage in question, an ethopoeia spoken by the shade of Achilles, is a school exercise. O. Crusius, 'Aus antiken Schulbüchern', *Philologus* 64 (1905), p.146, concludes: "Das Diptychon bestätigt, was man längst vermutet hat und vermuten konnte: dass diese kurzen, an die Aufgaben der Rhetoren errinnernden ῥήσεις für die Praxis der Schule bestimmt waren und wohl auch aus der Praxis der Schule hervorgegangen sind."

[40] Jullien (above, ch.2, n.4), p.326, and Wilkins (above, n.35), p.74, attribute the silence of ancient writers on this point to their concentration on the education of an orator – that is, a writer of prose. But it is probable that in this respect they reflect a similar emphasis in the Roman educational system. In any case, although Quintilian concentrates on the rhetorical stage of a student's training, he seems to give a fairly complete, if condensed, account of the other levels of his education.

which appropriated for prose that variety of effects (ποικιλία) previously characteristic of verse.[41] The licence granted poets in subject matter (especially the use of mythology) and style (in choice of vocabulary, tropes and figures) was now claimed for the new type of oratory.[42] In the hierarchy of literary forms, poetry and judicial oratory are the two extremes, the highest and lowest degrees of ποικιλία. Epideictic oratory is situated between the two extremes, but closer to poetry. History, too, a genre particularly closely related to epideictic, was permitted the same licence as poetry to depart from standard prose usage in choice of vocabulary and use of figures (Cicero, *Orator* 20,68).[43] There remained only metre to distinguish prose from verse. But here, too, with the increasing use of rhythm in prose, the distinction became blurred (*Orator* 20,66-67). There was a difference in degree: rhythm in prose should not be obtrusive (*Orator* 60,202), and was largely restricted to the end of a period (cf. *Orator* 59,199). It was a fault to include actual verses in prose.[44] But the tendency was to consider the metre of poetry as just one further

[41] The account given here of Isocratean theory is based on *Antidosis* 45-47 and *Evagoras* 8-11. For a discussion of these passages see Severin Koster, *Antike Epostheorien*, Palingenesia 5 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970), pp.80-85, and for the *Evagoras* passage see Fraustadt (above, ch.2, n.86), pp.57-60. Cicero's description of the style of the sophists, i.e. epideictic (*Or.* 19,65), reads like a commentary on the *Antidosis* passage. He refers to the freer use of rhetorical ornament, including harmonious *sententiae* and Gorgianic figures, the use of tropes and of digressions, often of a mythological nature.

[42] John E.B. Mayor, 'On *Licentia Poetica* (ποιητικὴ ἐξουσία or ἄδεια)', *JPh* 8 (1879), pp.260-62, collects a number of references on this subject. Poets, unlike prose writers, were not restricted in their vocabulary to standard, current usage, but could employ unusual and archaic words, neologisms, metaphors and tropes of all kinds. Quintilian mentions the greater freedom permitted poets in the use of simile, metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, antonomasia, catachresis, epithet, periphrasis and tmesis (VIII 3,73; 6,17-18, 19, 25, 29, 35, 40, 60 and 66). For the Christian attitude to poetic licence see Michael Roberts, 'The Prologue to Avitus' *De Spiritalis Historiae Gestis*: Christian Latin Poetry and Poetic License', *Traditio* 36 (1980), pp.400-402.

[43] Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 3, Quintilian X 1,31, and the discussions of Burgess (above, ch.2, n.105), pp.195-214, and Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), pp.91-92. Marcellinus, *Vit. Thuc.* 41, argues that Thucydides' history is not an example of the εἶδος ποιητικόν, because it lacks metre. Aristotle had argued that the distinction between history and poetry did not depend on metre (*Poetics* 9,2 1451b: ὁ γὰρ ἱστορικὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ τῷ ἢ ἔμμετρα λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα διαφέρουσιν). He established a distinction based on content rather than style, but later theoreticians were inclined to emphasize the stylistic similarity of the two genres.

[44] Aristotle, *Rhet.* III 8,1-3 1408b: τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε ἄρρυθμον . . . ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή· ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* III 44,175-76; *Or.* 56,187; 57,194-96; 58,198; 68,227; Quintilian IX 4,56-57, 72-78, 95 and 143. It was for lack of the constraints of metre that prose was called *oratio soluta* (Cicero, *De Or.* III 48,184).

element of ποικιλία. In practice prose and verse increasingly become interchangeable forms of expression.[45] Sedulius' treatment of the same subject in prose and verse is just the culmination of a development that goes back to the sophists.

From the point of view of the paraphrase metre was just one further σχῆμα/*modus* that might be applied to an original prose account. The writing of verse paraphrases was a natural development of paraphrastic theory and needs no special justification. In Juvencus' case poetry offered a number of particular advantages denied to prose. Most importantly, it permitted the poet to avail himself of the prestige of the pagan classic *par excellence*, Virgil, the poet most often cited by the Church Fathers.[46] In recasting the Bible in the Virgilian hexameter, Juvencus might expect to appeal to those of well-developed literary taste who otherwise would find the style of the Old Latin version unattractive. Juvencus was employing the charm (*suavitas*, *dulcedo*) of verse for Christian ends,[47] a charm to

[45] Cf. Proclus, *Chrestomathia* 3 (II 31 Severyns): λέγει ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ ὡς αἱ αὐταί εἰσιν ἀρεταὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ποιήματος, παραλλάσσουσι δὲ ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, quoted by Koster (above, n.41), p.100, with the following remark: "Hier sind die Nachwirkungen der von Gorgias ausgehenden Auseinandersetzung um die Gleichberechtigung von λόγος und ποίησις, die Isokrates fortführte, zu greifen." For the relationship between poetry and prose see also Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), pp.883-93, Ernst Robert Curtius, 'Dichtung und Rhetorik im Mittelalter', *DVjft* 16 (1938), pp.439-40, and Gordon Williams, *Change and Decline: Roman Literature in the Early Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp.241-44.

[46] For Jerome's citations of Virgil see Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers* (above, n.5), pp.240-45 and 276-81; for Augustine's use of Virgil, Hagendahl, *Augustine* (above, n.5), vol. 1, pp.316-72, and vol. 2, pp.384-463. Virgil owed his preeminent position, of course, to the use made of his work in the teaching of *ars grammatica*.

[47] The charm of poetry was a literary commonplace (cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* V 1,10 [*CSEL* 19, 400.5-8], Juvencus, *Praef.* 10 and Koster [above, n.41], *passim*), just as it was in Sidonius Apollinaris' Gaul, a century and a half later. André Loyen's description of fifth-century Gaul could equally well apply to the early fourth century when Juvencus was writing: "L'enseignement du grammairien, exclusivement consacré à l'explication des poètes . . . donnait à l'enfant – et pour la vie – la passion, l'obsession de la poésie," *Sidoine Apollinaire et l'esprit précieux en Gaule aux derniers jours de l'Empire*, Collection d'études latines, série scientifique, 20 (Paris: Societé d'édition «les belles lettres», 1943), p.9. It is interesting that Sedulius, in the dedicatory letter to the *Carmen Paschale* (*CSEL* 10, 4.15 - 5.13), emphasizes the attractiveness of poetry to an audience that might be deterred by a prose treatment (*poeticas . . . delicias et carminum voluptates*; *versuum . . . blandimento mellitum*); cf. also Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita Martini* III 8. For the same reason Alcuin intends his verse life of Willibrord for the entertainment of the monks while they are in their cells (*in secreto cubili*); the prose life is to be read publicly in the church (*puplice fratribus in ecclesia*; *MGH. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 7, 113.16-20).

A corollary of all this is that Juvencus' poem was intended for the educated classes, that is, in the conditions of the first half of the fourth century A.D., a mostly pagan or

which all educated readers were susceptible. In addition, it is very probable that the Stoic theory of poetic sublimity and of the special appropriateness of poetry to express higher truths influenced Juvencus in his choice of poetry as the vehicle for his Bible paraphrase. Fontaine[48] has noted a similar influence of Stoic literary theories on Christian Latin prose. Finally, the very rigidity of the Virgilian hexameter, in comparison to prose, may have been an attraction. Paradoxically, it was easier to write in verse than in rhetorical prose, precisely because of the stricter rules governing poetry.[49]

New Testament Poets

Juvencus was not only the first writer of biblical epic but also the first to write a Christian Latin poem in classical form.[50] According to Jerome,[51] he was a Spanish priest of noble family. His *Evangeliorum Libri IV* was probably written late in Constantine's

at best only superficially Christian readership. On the preponderance of pagans among the cultivated classes during the fourth century see Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, édition française par Jean-Remy Palanque, 2 vols. in 3 (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968), vol. 1, pp.97-98, Jean Gaudemet, *L'église dans l'empire romain (IVe-Ve siècles)*, Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'église en occident, vol. 3 (Paris: Sirey, 1958), pp.634-37, and Mauro Donnini, 'Annotazioni sulla tecnica parafrastica negli *Evangeliorum libri* di Giovenco', *Vichiana* 1 (1972), p.232. This fact explains Juvencus' emphasis on the *gesta* (*Praef.* 19) of Christ rather than on Christian theology. On the motives for Juvencus' poem and its intended audience see now Jacques Fontaine, *Naissance de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien: Esquisse d'une histoire de la poésie latine chrétienne du IIIe au VIe siècle* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), pp.69-71.

[48] Fontaine, *Aspects* (above, n.30), pp.48 and 161-62. For Stoic theories of poetry see Philip de Lacy, 'Stoic Views of Poetry', *AJPh* 69 (1948), pp.270-71, who quotes Cleanthes (frs. 486 and 487 von Arnim).

[49] On this see Cameron (above, n.19), p.318, who quotes Cicero, *Orator* 58,198: *difficilius est oratione uti quam versibus, quod in illis certa quaedam et definita lex est, quam sequi sit necesse.*

[50] That is, he writes in imitation of classical models and in accordance with ancient prosody. Commodian, whatever his date, does not meet these criteria (cf. Van der Nat, *Divinus Vere Poeta* [above, n.29], pp.37-38, n.31).

[51] *Vir. ill.* 84. Later notices depend on Jerome. For the *testimonia* see Carl Marold, *C. Vettii Aquilini Iuvenci Libri Evangeliorum IIII* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886), p.iv, and Johann Huemer, *Gai Vetti Aquilini Iuvenci Evangeliorum Libri Quattuor*, *CSEL* 24 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1891), pp.vi-xxiv. A marginal note in a manuscript of the *De viris illustribus*, *cod.* 22 León, discovered by Fontaine, *Isidore* (above, ch.2, n.81), p.8, n.3, gives Juvencus' birthplace as Eliberri in Baetica; cf. Fontaine, *Naissance* (above, n.47), pp.71-72.

reign. It is entered in Jerome's *Chronicon* under the year 329/330,[52] a date which accords well with the description of the state of the Empire furnished by the epilogue to Juvencus' work (IV 806-811). Jerome praises Juvencus' work as a simple versification of the Gospels. In two passages he describes Juvencus' procedure in almost identical language: *Chron. ad ann.* 329 (*GCS* 47, 232.18-19), *Iuvencus ... evangelia heroicis versibus explicat*, and *Ep.* LXX 5,3 (*CSEL* 54, 707.20-708.1), *Iuvencus ... historiam domini salvatoris versibus explicavit*. Juvencus "unfolds in verse" the narrative of the Gospels. The verb *explicare* carries no connotation of "explication" or explanation.[53] Juvencus is concerned with *historia*, the literal sense of the Gospels, not allegory or interpretation.[54] Implicit in Jerome's remarks is a recognition of the poet's fidelity to his original. The notice in the *De viris illustribus* (84) specifically refers to the literalness of Juvencus' paraphrase: *quattuor Evangelia hexametris versibus* paene ad verbum *transferens* .... Jerome's description of the Gospel poem as an almost word-for-word version is at first sight rather surprising in the light of Jerome's own preference for translating the sense rather than the word.[55] Moreover, Juvencus' paraphrase, although more faithful than many later biblical poems, is yet fairly free with amplifications and abbreviations and can hardly be described as a word-for-word version of the Gospels. In the sphere of the paraphrase it is the grammatical paraphrase that observes the principle of word-for-word equivalence. But Juvencus' Gospel poem is assuredly not a grammatical paraphrase.[56] Why, then, does Jerome

[52] *Chron. ad ann.* 329 (*GCS* 47, 232.18-19). The other passages in which Jerome mentions Juvencus are *Ep.* LXX (*CSEL* 54, 707.20-708.2), and *In Matth.* I 2,11 (*PL* 26, 26C-D). Marold's attempt to date the poem to 332 ('Ueber das Evangelienbuch des Juvencus in seinem Verhältniss zum Bibeltext', *ZWTh* 33 [1890], p.329) on the basis of a supposed reference to the defeat of the Goths in that year (IV 807) has not been accepted; cf. Hermann Nestler, *Studien über die Messiade des Juvencus*, prog. (Passau, 1910), p.69, n.137, and Carl Weyman, 'Optatianus Porfyrius und Juvencus', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* (Munich: Hueber, 1926), p.27. On Jerome's references to Juvencus' poem see now Jean-Michel Poinsotte, *Juvencus et Israël: la répresentation des Juifs dans le premier poème latin chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979), p.27, n.78.

[53] For parallels to this usage in contemporary historians see Doignon (above, n.5), p.259, n.4.

[54] Ibid., p.260.

[55] For the principle of word-for-word translation see Marti (above, ch.2, n.17), pp.64-81; for Jerome's somewhat inconsistent pronouncements on the subject Marti, pp.73-76.

[56] Thraede's language, 'Epos', col. 1026, is rather misleading: "Die AT-Paraphrasen haben die gleiche Entwicklung von der grammatisch-historischen zur rhetorisch-didaktischen Form durchlaufen wie die Umdichtungen des NT." Ancient theorists

describe it as though it were? A clue is provided by the passage in *Ep.* LXX already quoted. It continues (*CSEL* 54, 708.1-2): *nec pertimuit evangelii maiestatem sub metri leges mittere*. Juvencus' undertaking – the versification of the Gospels – was apparently considered bold even in Jerome's day. There was a danger that the "majesty" of the Holy Scriptures might be diminished. Here again the voice of Christian asceticism is heard: the view that the Christian world had nothing to gain from pagan learning. It was perhaps the very boldness of Juvencus' original venture that assured he had no successors until the fifth century – only Proba's cento in the mid-fourth century, a work which Jerome himself repudiated.[57] Jerome, then, chose to emphasize the literalness of Juvencus' version as an apologetic measure. It is revealing that he felt bound to qualify his judgement (*paene ad verbum*). At the same time, his acceptance of Juvencus' biblical epic into the canon of Christian literature – Juvencus is the only poet included in the *De viris illustribus* – helped to legitimize the genre. For later poets the propriety of versifying the Bible was no longer a live issue.[58]

Christian Latin poetry came of age with the works of Paulinus and Prudentius at the turn of the century.[59] The first half of the fifth century saw the writing of three full-scale biblical epics. Two were on

made a clear distinction between two types of paraphrase, which I have called, following Lehrs, grammatical and rhetorical. In broad outline this distinction corresponds to that between translating *verbum de verbo* and *sensus de sensu*. It is evident that the former type of paraphrase was literally "word-for-word"; it followed the order of the original text scrupulously and without deviation. The papyri provide a number of examples. In no sense can Juvencus' poem (or the early Old Testament paraphrases) be compared with the grammatical paraphrase, for the grammatical paraphrase was devoid of any literary intent or merit.

[57] *Ep.* LIII 7,3 (*CSEL* 54, 454.1-12). For Proba's date see Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.3, Carl Schenkl, *Probae Cento*, in *Poetae Christiani Minores*, *CSEL* 16 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1888), pp.514-15, and Umberto Moricca, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana*, 3 vols. in 5 (Torino: Società editrice internazionale, 1923-34), vol. 2, pp.853-54.

[58] Cf. Helene Homeyer, 'Der Dichter zwischen zwei Welten: Beobachtungen zur Theorie und Praxis des Dichters im frühen Mittelalter', *A&A* 16 (1970), pp.142-43.

[59] Their verse extended the scope of Christian Latin poetry by giving expression to a wide range of Christian sentiment. Augustine (*Ep.* XXVI 5; *CSEL* 34.1, 88.1-5) points to Paulinus as an exemplary Christian poet (cf. Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.172-73). Both poets, as well as Juvencus, were well known to Sedulius. Many parallels are listed by Johann Huemer in his edition of Sedulius, *Sedulii Opera Omnia*, *CSEL* 10 (Vienna: Gerold, 1885), and P. Theodor Mayr, *Studien zu dem Paschale Carmen des christlichen Dichters Sedulius*, diss. (Augsburg: Pfeiffer, 1916), pp.73-76. Paulinus himself wrote three psalm paraphrases (*C.* VII, VIII and IX = Ps. 1, 2 and 136), and a *Laus sancti Iohannis*, *C.* VI (i.e. a panegyric of John the Baptist); the latter adheres closely to the Gospel text and shows the characteristic procedures of a paraphrase, often anticipating procedures later used by Sedulius.

Old Testament themes, the third, the *Carmen Paschale* (hereafter *C.P.*) of Sedulius, like Juvencus' *Evangeliorum Libri IV*, was based on the Gospels.[60] Little is known of the poet. Biographical information is meagre and of doubtful reliability.[61] He seems to have been a *presbyter*[62] and ancient sources speak of him as an Italian.[63] His *floruit* is now generally put in the second quarter of the fifth century, during the reigns of Theodosius II and Valentinian III.[64] An interesting subscription contained in a number of manuscripts preserves the information that Turcius Rufius Asterius (*cos.* 494) prepared a recension of Sedulius' poem from papers the poet left behind at his death.[65] According to a subscription in the Medicean manuscript of Virgil, Asterius also edited Virgil. The analogy suggests that Asterius' motive in editing the *C.P.* was not to restore to favour a neglected work (as Ebert[66] suggested), but to procure a

[60] Sedulius announces his subject as *quatuor ... mirabilium divinorum libellos* (*Ep. ad Mac.* I; 12.4-5, references are to page numbers in Huemer's edition). The books in question are books II-V. Book I is introductory in nature and consists largely of a sequence of Old Testament miracles intended to demonstrate God's power over nature (some of the same examples are used by Paulinus, *C.* XXII 99-134 for the same purpose).

[61] The standard modern work on Sedulius' biography is still Johann Huemer, *De Sedulii poetae vita et scriptis commentatio* (Vienna: Hoelder, 1878). See further J. Looshorn, 'Cölius Sedulius und seine Werke', *ZKTh* 4 (1880), pp.74-89, Gaston Boissier, 'Sedulius', *Journal des savants* (1881), pp.553-58, reproduced in part by H. Leclercq, 'Sedulius', *DACL* 15 (Paris, 1950), coll. 1134-37, and F. Corsaro, *Sedulio poeta*, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto universitario di magistero di Catania, serie letteraria, no. 2 (Catania: Istituto universitario di magistero, 1956), pp.10-17. I have been unable to see a series of earlier works by Corsaro on Sedulius: *Sedulio*, Raccolta di studi di lett. crist. antica 1 (Catania: Centro di studi di arte e lett. crist. antica, 1945), *L'opera poetica di Sedulio*, ibid. 9 (1948), and *La Lingua di Sedulio*, ibid. 11 (1949).

[62] But in some sources he is spoken of as a bishop; cf. Huemer, pp.28-30, and Looshorn, pp.75-76.

[63] The evidence does not inspire complete confidence. Huemer, pp.11-17, argues for Sedulius' Italian nationality, but more recently A.D. McDonald, 'The Iconographic Tradition of Sedulius', *Speculum* 8 (1933), pp.150-56, has argued for Southern Gaul or Spain as the poet's homeland, on the basis of parallels with the iconographic tradition of that area. Ekkehart IV of St. Gall apparently thought Sedulius was from Spain or Gaul; cf. Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), vol. 2, p.637, n.6.

[64] Huemer, pp.17-25. Huemer's dating has not since been challenged.

[65] *hoc opus Sedulius inter cartulas dispersum reliquit, quod recollectum adunatum atque ad omnem elegantiam divulgatum est a Turcio Rufio Asterio v.c. exconsule ordinario atque patricio*. For the text see Huemer, pp.18 and 31-34.

[66] Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande bis zum Beginne des XI. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Vogel, 1880-1889; 1st vol., 2nd ed., 1889), vol. 1, p.373, n.2. Ebert argues that the *C.P.* was forgotten after the publication of the *Opus Paschale*, Sedulius' prose version of the *C.P.* This is inherently improbable. The poem was extremely popular, vastly more so than the prose version, in all succeeding centuries. There is no reason to suppose that quite the reverse was true in the first half century of its existence. Moreover, the poets Paulinus of Pella (459)

reliable text of a popular author. If indeed Asterius had at his disposal Sedulius' own papers, he was ideally situated to present an authoritative version of the *C.P.*[67]

The fact that Asterius produced recensions of Virgil and Sedulius is significant. Virgil, who, we are told, had been the bible of the pagan resistance to Christianity in the fourth century, was now edited by a Christian. The subscription in the Medicean manuscript is important evidence for the acceptance of the pagan classics into Christian culture. It was, Asterius writes, with confidence not in himself, but in God, that he produced his recension of Virgil: *non mei fiducia set eius, cuius et ad omnia sum devotus arbitrio.*[68] Asterius apparently saw nothing incongruous in this fusion of pagan and Christian. Moreover, the epigram written by Asterius that accompanies the Medicean subscription (*Anth. Lat.* 3 Riese) explicitly states that the recension of Virgil was produced during its author's consulship (i.e. 494). The recension of Sedulius is generally thought to have been produced either in the same year or soon thereafter. It is very probable that the two texts were thought of by Asterius as complementary; Sedulius was the Christian Virgil. It may be that the two recensions represent a conscious programme by Asterius to produce reliable texts of the chief pagan and chief Christian poet of his day. It would have seemed quite natural to him to apply the editorial methods long familiar in the handling of pagan texts to a

and Paulinus of Périgueux (*ca* 470) show familiarity with the work of Sedulius; cf. Lietzmann, 'Sedulius', *RE* n.s. 2 (Stuttgart, 1921), col. 1025, and Max Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1891), p.304. Parallels between the two poets and Sedulius are listed in the editions of Brandes and Petschenig, *CSEL* 16, pp.315 and 171 respectively. Not all of these passages need be explained as imitations of Sedulius, but the residue of probable imitations is sufficient to suggest both poets knew the *Carmen Paschale*.

[67] Presumably the texts of Sedulius circulating in the fifty years or so before Asterius' edition were ultimately derived from the copy of the *C.P.* sent to Macedonius with the dedicatory letter. In these circumstances it is not difficult to see how the text could have already undergone corruption by the 490s. For the conditions of book production in this period see H.I. Marrou, 'La technique de l'édition à l'époque patristique', *VChr* 3 (1949), pp.208-24. Gustave Bardy, 'Copies et éditions au Ve siècle', *RScR* 23 (1949), pp.41-46 and 49-52, quotes a number of instances of individuals making private arrangements to secure a copy of a particular work.

[68] I quote the subscription in the emended form of O. Jahn, 'Über die Subscriptionen in den Handschriften römischer Classiker', *BSG* 3 (1851), pp.348-50. On the question of subscriptions to manuscripts of the pagan classics see Alan Cameron, 'Paganism and Literature in Late Fourth Century Rome', in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident* (above, n.29), pp.1-29, esp. 23-24, disputing the description of Virgil as the "pagan bible," and 26-28, questioning the scope of the editorial activity undertaken by Roman aristocrats.

Christian poet, Sedulius. His motives were twofold: to establish an authoritative form of the text, and to promote the knowledge of that text among his contemporaries.

If this interpretation is correct, within fifty years Sedulius had acquired the status of a classic. Yet many scholars have concluded the poem originally met a hostile reception from Macedonius and other readers.[69] The evidence is contained in the second letter to Macedonius, the dedicatory letter to the *Opus Paschale* (hereafter *O.P.*), Sedulius' later prose version of the *C.P.* Here is the text at issue:

> Praecepisti, reverende mi domine, paschalis carminis textum, quod officium purae devotionis simpliciter exsecutus vobis obtuli perlegendum, in rhetoricum me transferre sermonem. utrum quod placuerit, ideo geminari volueris, an quod offenderit, ut potius arbitror, stilo censueris liberiore describi: sub dubio videor fluctuare iudicio. sanctis tamen iussionibus non resultans iniunctam suscepi provinciam .... (171.2-9)

> You have instructed me, reverent sir, to rewrite in rhetorical prose[70] the text of my *Carmen Paschale* which in humble performance of my duty of perfect devotion I presented to you to read. I feel myself wavering, uncertain in my judgement, whether you wanted the work duplicated because it pleased you or, as I am inclined to believe, you thought it should be written in a more unhampered style, because as it was, it displeased you. Nevertheless I have not resisted your holy commands but have undertaken the task enjoined on me ...

Sedulius goes on to speak of omissions from the *C.P.*, occasioned by *metricae necessitatis angustia*; he intends to correct these omissions in the *O.P.* Here, it is assumed, is the reason for the hostile reception of the *C.P.* Scholars speak of Sedulius' excessive freedom in handling the Bible text;[71] they see in the opposition to the *C.P.* a reflection of that deeply-rooted Christian suspicion of pagan literature in general and poetry in particular that has already been referred to.[72] As

[69] Thus Manitius (above, n.66), p.304, n.4, speaks of "Macedonius selbst, dem die poetische Form missfiel und der den Verfasser daher zu prosaischer Umarbeitung veranlasste." Cf. also Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, p.370; Fuhrmann, 'Die lateinische Literatur' (above, ch.1, n.9), p.78, n.76; and the authorities quoted by Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), p.461, n.41. In my M.A. thesis, 'Alcuin's Life of Willibrord and its Literary Antecedents' (Urbana, 1974), pp.18-20, I was inclined to follow this view.

[70] *Rhetoricus sermo*, i.e. "Kunstprosa," cf. Curtius, 'Dichtung und Rhetorik', (above, n.45), pp.446-48, *European Literature*, p.149.

[71] So Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, p.370.

[72] So Fuhrmann, 'Die lateinische Literatur', (above, ch.1, n.9), p.78.

Curtius[73] has pointed out, however, this interpretation is not borne out by the text.

It has generally been assumed, on the evidence of the passage just quoted, that Macedonius was displeased by the *C.P.* (*an quod offenderit, ut potius arbitror*), and therefore instructed Sedulius to produce a prose version of that work (*praecepisti ... in rhetoricum me transferre sermonem*; *sanctis tamen iussionibus non resultans iniunctam suscepi provinciam*). But such a protestation of a writer's inadequacy and the claim that he is only responding to a command of a superior are typical of literary prefaces. Such claims fall into the category of the *captatio benevolentiae* or "affected modesty" and were recommended for the preface of a work of literature, just as they were for the exordium of a speech.[74] The notion of an urgent command from Macedonius requiring Sedulius to rework the *C.P.* in prose must be dismissed as a fiction.[75] At most, Macedonius may have approved a project of Sedulius to compose an amplified prose version of the *C.P.*

The supposed displeasure of Macedonius with the *C.P.* (*an quod offenderit ...*) is evidently not to be taken seriously. What, then, of the claim that the *C.P.* offended because of its free treatment of the biblical text? This view, too, receives no support from the second letter to Macedonius. The phrase *stilo censueris liberiore describi* does not, of course, mean "you judged that it was written in too free a style."[76] *Stilo ... liberiore* should not be interpreted as criticism of the *C.P.* for its excessively free handling of the biblical text. The passage should rather be interpreted: "you thought that it should be (i.e. you wished it to be) written in a freer style" (literally, "with a freer pen"). The parallelism between the clauses *utrum quod placuerit, ideo geminari volueris* and *an quod offenderit ..., stilo censueris liberiore describi* guarantees that this is the correct meaning

[73] Curtius, 'Zur Literarästhetik III', (above, ch.2, n.80), pp.457-58, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.461-62.

[74] Curtius, *European Literature*, pp.83-85, discusses *topoi* of the *captatio benevolentiae*, including the fictitious command from a friend, patron or superior (p.85, with a number of examples). Abundant parallels are cited by Tore Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 13 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964), pp.116-24 (response to a request) and 124-41 (protestations of stylistic incompetence).

[75] Curtius, *European Literature*, p.462, n.43, compares the similar device used by Lactantius in the preface to his *Epitome*.

[76] *Censere* is apparently used in a pejorative sense, "find fault with, censure," in the first letter to Macedonius (p.1.3), but I can find no parallel to this usage in the *Thesaurus*. There is some evidence (*ThLL* III 796.18-20) that *censere* can be used in the sense of *suscensere*, but not with a direct object.

here. Just as *ideo geminari volueris* refers to Macedonius' supposed request for a second prose version, so must *stilo censueris liberiore describi* refer to that second prose version and not to any pretended faults in the *C.P.* The prolative infinite after *censere* presents no problems. The *Thesaurus*[77] quotes a number of examples of such an infinitive after *censere* when it has the sense of *velle*. *Stilo ... liberiore* is simply a periphrasis for "in prose", that is, in a style free from the constraints of metre. The antithesis between the rigidity of verse and the freedom of prose is an important one in Sedulius' letter. It is found in a metaphorical form[78] in the following sentence and is then made explicit in a clause which serves to interpret the metaphor: *siquidem multa pro metricae necessitatis angustia priori commentario nequaquam videntur inserta, quae postmodum linguae resolutio magis est adsecuta* (172.1-3). Sedulius is here ringing the changes on the conventional antithesis between *metri necessitas* and *oratio soluta* (i.e. prose).[79] His argument is that he can treat his subject more fully in prose, because he is no longer subject to the constraints of metre.

There is no need to accept Sedulius' argument at its face value. The author of the *C.P.* shows no embarrassment at handling in verse apparently unpromising material. Sedulius' main concern in the second letter to Macedonius is not to explain why he chose to compose a prose version of the *C.P.* It is rather to defend the *C.P.* against the charge of being an unfaithful version of its original: *dederimus hinc aliquam forsitan obtrectatoribus viam, dicentque nonnulli fidem translationis esse corruptam, quia certa videlicet sunt in oratione quae non habentur in carmine* (172.3-6). The contrast of metrical *necessitas* with the *resolutio* of prose is a convenient starting point for Sedulius' discussion, but the weight of his argument lies elsewhere. According to Sedulius, there is no inconsistency between the two versions, *sic et nostri prorsus ab sese libelli non discrepant* (173.1-2); the *O.P.* is simply an amplified version of the *C.P.*, *quae defuerant primis addita sunt secundis* (173.2-3).[80] Augustine had

[77] *ThLL* III 795.72-82.

[78] The nautical imagery is taken up from the first letter to Macedonius (1.5 - 2.4 and 12.2-4). The comparison of literary composition to a sea voyage had long been a rhetorical commonplace; cf. Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.128-30, Thraede, 'Untersuchungen zum Ursprung und zur Geschichte der christlichen Poesie II', *JbAC* 5 (1962), pp.130-33, Godo Lieberg, 'Seefahrt und Werk: Untersuchungen zu einer Metapher der antiken, besonders der lateinischen Literatur, von Pindar bis Horaz', *GIF* 21 (1969), pp.209-40.

[79] For *metri necessitas* see Quintilian I 6,2; VIII 6,17; X 1,29; for *oratio soluta* see Forcellini - De Vit, *s.v. solutus*.

[80] Cf. also 172.17-18: *aliud namque est mutare composita et aliud integrare non plena.*

shown a similar concern with consistency between two versions of the same work when he sought to put into circulation a revised version of the *De Trinitate* in place of one that had circulated without his permission: *eosque* (sc. *libros*) *emendatos, non ut volui, sed ut potui,* ne ab illis, *qui subrepti iam in manus hominum exierant,* plurimum discreparent (*Ep.* CLXXIV; *CSEL* 44, 651.8-10). But, unlike Augustine, Sedulius had no wish to suppress his earlier work. There is no suggestion in the second letter to Macedonius that he now disapproved of the *C.P.* Presumably, the reason he gave in the dedicatory letter to the *C.P.* for writing that work in verse still held good; that there were some people whose attention was held only by the charm of poetry.[81] His choice of prose for the *O.P.* is proof that he considered the new work complementary to and not a replacement for the *C.P.* Had he wished to supplant the *C.P.*, he would surely have written in verse again. The two works were certainly viewed as complementary in the medieval period. Many writers imitated Sedulius and produced two books on the same subject, one in prose and one in verse. Thus a new genre was created, the double work (*opus geminatum*); Sedulius was the archegetes of the genre, the Anglo-Saxons Aldhelm, Bede and Alcuin its first medieval exponents in the seventh and eighth centuries.[82]

Sedulius' *O.P.*, we are given to understand, is a fuller version of his earlier poem. Sedulius uses two lines of argument to defend himself against the charge that in thus expanding his original text he is guilty of inconsistency. The first argument depends on precedent. Both a pagan and a Christian writer, Hermogenianus[83] and Origen,[84] had produced revised versions of their works without encountering any criticism. Why should Sedulius not do the same?

More important is the argument drawn from the ancient theory of the paraphrase/translation. It depends for its cogency on the belief that a work of literature contained a basic, underlying sense which

[81] 5.4-10, quoted below, p.85.

[82] For the phrase *opus geminatum* see Bede, *H.E.* V 18. It is possible that the Merovingian king Chilperic (*ob.* 584) wrote a double work after the manner of Sedulius (Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* V 44, *MGH. Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 1.1, 2nd ed., Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison [Hannover: Hahn, 1951], p.254.1-2 and VI 46, p.320.6; cf. Max Manitius, 'Zu späten lateinischen Dichtern', *RhM* 44 [1889], p.547). For the double work as a genre see my M.A. thesis (above, n.69), and below, ch.8, n.14.

[83] Cf. W.S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 6th ed., rev. Wilhelm Kroll and Franz Skutsch, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910-1916), vol. 3, pp.192-93.

[84] Cf. Gustave Bardy, 'Éditions et rééditions d'ouvrages patristiques', *RBen* 47 (1935), pp.359 and 372-74.

should remain intact in any new version, but which might be overlaid with any amount of amplification and stylistic elaboration without altering the essential identity of the work.[85] It is on this doctrine that Sedulius takes his stand. His very formulation of the problem is significant: *fidem translationis esse corruptam* (172.5). As Herzog notes,[86] the phrase *fides translationis* is a technical rhetorical term. The word *translatio* (cf. 171.5 *transferre*) is not used in the modern sense of the word "translation"; there is no suggestion of translation from one language to another. Its meaning here is "paraphrase." Paulinus of Périgueux two decades or so later uses the word in exactly the same sense when he refers to his verse *Vita S. Martini* as a *translatio* of Sulpicius Severus' prose account (*Vita S. Martini* IV 1).[87] Sedulius is careful to emphasize the distinction between alterations to the sense of an original and additions that merely complement and do not alter the sense: *aliud namque est mutare composita et aliud integrare non plena* (172.17-18). The additions contained in the *O.P.* fall into the latter class: *nostri prorsus ab sese libelli non discrepant, sed quae defuerant primis addita sunt secundis* (173.1-3). There is no variation in subject and arrangement between the two works, only in language and style: *nec impares argumento vel ordine, sed stilo videntur et oratione dissimiles* (173.3-4).[88] All this is fully in accordance with the ancient theory of the paraphrase, which emphasized free variation on a basic theme. Sedulius argues that the additions introduced in the *O.P.* do not exceed what is traditionally permitted in a paraphrase. The sense of the original is retained, that is, the narrative skeleton derived from the miracles of the Old and New Testaments. The additions introduced by Sedulius into the *O.P.* are

[85] On this see above, pp.32-36.

[86] Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.liii, n.170. Although the second volume of Herzog's book containing his treatment of Sedulius has not yet appeared, his first volume does contain some hints of his attitude to Sedulius (cf. also pp.xli-xlii). I cannot agree with his opinion that the *O.P.* was intended as a new edition of the *C.P.*, despite Sedulius' appeal to the precedents of Hermogenianus and Origen. The distinction between paraphrase and edition is, in any case, an artificial one (cf. Stemplinger [above, ch.2, n.1], p.215, who treats the two as closely related processes). The procedure followed in each case was essentially the same. The distinction is in the intent of the reviser. A paraphrast does not mean to supplant the earlier version; he would probably welcome a comparison between the two works. An editor, on the contrary, seeks to replace the earlier version. Thus Augustine's revised version of the *De Trinitate* was intended to replace the earlier unauthorized version that was in circulation (Aug., *Ep.* CLXXIV).

[87] *finierat sumptum translatio coepta volumen.*

[88] The passage recalls Terence, *Andria, prol.* 11-12: *non ita dissimili sunt argumento, set tamen / dissimili oratione sunt factae ac stilo*, as noted by Huemer in his edition, *ad loc.* Unlike Terence, Sedulius is concerned not to defend his originality, but to emphasize the consistency between two versions of the same subject.

simply amplifications, which do not affect the biblical core of the work.[89]

In the first half of the first letter to Macedonius (2.1 - 6.3)[90] Sedulius gives his reasons for writing the *C.P.* The section falls into two parts: i) general reasons for wishing to write such a work (2.1 - 4.15); ii) reasons for composing it in verse (4.15 - 6.1). Sedulius presents his motives for writing the *C.P.* as primarily personal: the desire to dedicate his literary talents to a work of Christian edification and by so doing safeguard himself against moral backsliding. The effect of Sedulius' work on his readers is only referred to in passing:

> ad iaciendum huius operis fundamentum ob hoc maxime provocatus accessi, ut alios exhortationibus veritatis ad frugem bonae messis invitans, si quando infirmitatis humanae vitiis forsitan lacessitus inpugner, verbis propriae disputationis ammonitus metuam, et qui furta prohibui fur videri verear, et qui rectae soliditatis iter ostendi proclivioris lubrici periculosa sectari et clipeo dominicae protectionis armatus inimicae iaculationis tela facili repulsione contemnam. (4.8-15)

> My particular reason for undertaking to lay the foundation for this work was that by urging others with the admonitions of truth to reap the good harvest, if ever I myself should be assailed by the failings of human weakness, I should pay heed to my own warnings and draw back; I who had denounced theft should fear to seem a thief, and I who had demonstrated the way of righteousness should fear to pursue the perils of the slippery downward slope[91] and armed with the shield of the Lord's protection should scorn[92] and easily ward off the darts shot by the Devil.

[89] This is the sense of the analogy Sedulius draws with the Scriptures: *quamvis spatia divinae legis immensa, quibus dicta semper adiciuntur et desunt, velut mare fluviorum penitus incrementa non sentiens, nullis terminari sensibus queant, nullis explicari linguis evaleant; sic et nostri ...* (172.18 - 173.1). Just as the Scriptures remain unaffected, however much they are expanded upon, so the basic sense of Sedulius' work remains unaffected by the additions introduced in the *O.P.* Sedulius' reference to scriptural exegesis is particularly appropriate, since many of the additions in the *O.P.* consist of interpretative material. Sedulius clearly views such interpretative expansions as a form of paraphrastic amplification that does not affect the integrity of the text expounded.

[90] The section is marked off by the phrases *huius apud te facti causas expurgem* (2.1) at the beginning and *hae sunt, pater egregie, nostri operis causae, non supervacuae, sicut didicisti, sed commodae* (6.2-3) at the end.

[91] The antithesis between *rectae soliditatis iter* and *proclivioris lubrici periculosa* indicates that Sedulius is here thinking of the allegory of the two ways (Mt 7,13-14). This passage in Matthew had been the subject of a lengthy expansion in Juvencus' paraphrase (I 679-89) and is often referred to in Paulinus' poetry (VII 45-51, VIII 26-28, XXI 538-50, XXVII 117-18, 540-41). For the collocation *proclivioris lubrici* see Paulinus XXI 540 *prono lubrica clivo.*

[92] For the notion of the armour of Christ and the darts of the Devil see Ephesians 6,14-17 (cf. Paulinus, *C.* XVI 121-28; XVII 139).

The *C.P.* is seen by Sedulius as a work of moral instruction and exhortation. The notion that the poet himself can expect to benefit spiritually from his work is one that is found in Juvencus (*Praef.* 15-24) and Paulinus (*C.* XXII 29-34).[93]

In the following passage (4.15 - 5.10) Sedulius expands on his reasons for writing the *C.P.*, and in particular his reasons for writing in verse. His choice of poetry rather than prose is dictated by the predilections of his intended audience. Like Juvencus, Sedulius is writing for the educated classes, those who had developed a taste for poetry after classical models in the schools:[94]

> multi sunt quos studiorum saecularium disciplina per poeticas magis delicias et carminum voluptates oblectat. hi quicquid rhetoricae facundiae perlegunt, neglegentius adsequuntur, quoniam illud haud diligunt: quod autem versuum viderint blandimento mellitum, tanta cordis aviditate suscipiunt, ut in alta memoria saepius haec iterando constituant et reponant. (5.4-10)

> There are many for whom the special delight of secular education lies in the charms of poetry and the pleasures of verse. These men are inattentive to whatever they read in rhetorical prose because they take no pleasure in it; but what they see with the honeyed allure of verse, they receive with such eagerness of heart that by its frequent repetition they establish and store it up deep in their memory.

Sedulius wishes to put the aesthetic appeal of poetry to the service of Christian instruction. Though this aesthetic appeal is secondary for a Christian poet, it is indispensable to the communication of his message; the "honeyed allure of verse" makes the Christian content palatable.[95] But along with its aesthetic qualities, Sedulius recognizes

[93] Cf. Witke (above, n.32), pp.99-100, Kartschoke (above, n.2), pp.66-67, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.liv, n.172 (on Arator, *ad Florianum* 5-6). Confessions of one's own sinfulness became a literary topos in the Christian writers of late antiquity: Thraede, *Studien* (above, ch.1, n.11), pp.49 and 61-70, 'Untersuchungen II', (above, n.78), p.132.

[94] Sedulius' readership, unlike that of Juvencus, would be largely Christian, at least in name, and familiar with the basic teachings of Christianity and the more important episodes of the Gospel story. Hence Sedulius can presuppose a knowledge of the Bible, especially in familiar stories like the Crucifixion (e.g. V 147, 155, 183). Such an audience would also be more amenable than Juvencus' to dogmatic and exegetical material such as is found in the *C.P.* For the acceptance of Christianity by the Roman cultural élite in the late fourth and early fifth centuries see Peter Brown, 'Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy', *JRS* 51 (1961), pp.1-11, reprinted in *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp.161-82.

[95] The passage inevitably recalls Lucretius' image of the honeyed cup (I 936-50 = IV 11-25). The *C.P.* shows no evidence of the influence of Lucretius, but Sedulius would have been familiar with the image from earlier Christian authors (Lactantius, *Inst.* I

a further property of verse, its mnemonic value (*ut* in alta memoria saepius haec iterando *constituant et reponant*). The effectiveness of poetry as moral instruction depends on a double process. The reader's attention is first attracted by the aesthetic quality of the verse. It is this literary charm which will then induce him to return constantly to a poem and so with the aid of memory absorb the message it has to impart.

Sedulius' theory and practice had a great influence on the third and last of the New Testament poets of late antiquity, Arator.[96] Born in Liguria,[97] Arator was educated in Milan and Ravenna,[98] pursuing the career of *advocatus* and rising to the positions of *comes domesticorum* and *comes privatarum*.[99] But Arator did not remain at Ravenna. The warfare between the Ostrogothic kingdom and the Eastern Empire impelled him to seek refuge at Rome, under the

1,14; *CSEL* 19, 401.1-4; Jerome, *Ep.* CXXXIII 3,7; *CSEL* 56, 246.14-17; cf. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers* [above, n.5], pp.64 and 274-75). For *mel* as a conventional literary term see Hans Bruhn, *Specimen vocabularii rhetorici ad inferioris aetatis Latinitatem pertinens*, diss. (Marburg: Georg, 1911), p.34, Thraede, 'Untersuchungen II', (above, n.78), pp.149-50, and *ThLL* VIII 1, 609.47-77. Christian authors often combine this usage with a reminiscence of Ps. 18,11 (*ThLL* VIII 1, 610.4-34).

[96] On the general question of the relationship between Sedulius and Arator see Manitius (above, n.66), p.376, Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 3, p.215, and Klaus Thraede, 'Nachträge zum Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Arator', *JbAC* 4 (1961), pp.194-95. McKinlay lists in the *testimonia* below his text many parallels with Sedulius, which have been supplemented by Luitpold Wallach in his review of McKinlay's edition, *Speculum* 29 (1954), pp.145-50.

[97] For Arator's career and the sources available see Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, pp.391-93, Moricca, vol. 3, pp.209-11, and Thraede, 'Arator', pp.187-88. They include references in the writings of his contemporaries, Cassiodorus and Ennodius, and Arator's own verse epistles. The *testimonia* contained in McKinlay's edition of Arator, *Aratoris subdiaconi De actibus apostolorum*, *CSEL* vol. 72 (Vienna: Hoelder, 1951), pp.xxi-lix, are incomplete. For instance, McKinlay quotes Cassiodorus, *Variae* VIII 12, but in a reduced form, unaccountably omitting the reference to Arator's birthplace (*Variae* VIII 12,7: *mittit et Liguria Tullios suos*). I have been unable to see R. Anastasi, 'Dati biografici su Aratore in Ennodio', *MSLC* 1 (1947), pp.145-52.

[98] At Ravenna he was a pupil of Parthenius, perhaps the nephew of Ennodius; Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, p.142, but cf. A. Nagl, 'Parthenius', *RE* 18 (Waldsee, 1949), coll. 1902-1904.

[99] Cassiodorus, *Variae* VIII 12, announces Arator's appointment to the former post. A subscription in the *Codex Remensis*, quoted by Moricca (above, n.57), p.210, n.33, records that Arator was also *comes privatarum*. But cf. Theodor Mommsen, 'Ostgothische Studien', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 8 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905-1913), vol. 6, pp.403-404. Mommsen argues that *Variae* VIII 12 announces Arator's appointment to the post of *comes privatarum* (there is an uncertainty in the text of the *Variae* at this point). In that case, Arator was elected to the *comitiva domesticorum* at an earlier date. For the training and duties of an advocate see Fritz Saaby Pedersen, *Late Roman Public Professionalism*, Odense University Classical Studies, vol. 9 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1976), pp.43-45.

protection of Pope Vigilius (*Epistola ad Vigilium* 1-14). There he became a sub-deacon (*subdiaconus*) and there he wrote his verse paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles. The poem was first presented to the Pope. It was then given a public reading at the church of St. Peter *ad vincula* and received enthusiastic acclaim. The readings took place on four days in April and May, 544.[100] Nothing is known of Arator thereafter. The date of his death, like the date of his birth, is unknown.

Arator's career follows a familiar pattern. He was a member, probably by birth, of the senatorial aristocracy. Cassiodorus (*Variae* VIII 12,4-5) speaks highly of his father's accomplishments. He certainly received the literary education proper to a member of that class. The literary talents so acquired were his passport to official position in the state as *comes domesticorum*.[101] When prospects of further advancement were dimmed by the uncertain political climate, he chose to retire to Rome and employ his literary talents in the service of the Church. Like his distinguished contemporary, Cassiodorus, he abandoned the secular for the religious life. In both spheres his literary attainments stood him in good stead. His mastery of the polite formulae of contemporary rhetoric is demonstrated in his surviving verse epistles.[102] Yet conventional as these epistles often are, the letters to Vigilius and Parthenius[103] shed important light on

[100] The circumstances of Arator's presentation of his poem to Vigilius and its subsequent public reading are contained in a subscription found in a number of manuscripts. The text is included among the *testimonia* given by McKinlay (p.xxviii). For criticism of McKinlay's text and a discussion of the problems raised by the subscription see François Chatillon, 'Arator déclamateur antijuif: 1. Approches', *RMAL* 19 (1963), pp.70-128. Chatillon (pp.58-70) also argues, unconvincingly, that the *Epistola ad Parthenium* is a school exercise and not the work of Arator, although it does in his opinion contain accurate biographical information.

[101] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Variae* VIII 12, *passim*.

[102] For instance, etymological play on proper names: *ad Parth.* 5-8 and 57-58 (cf. Ennodius, *Dictio* IX 10), *ad Flor.* 1-2; the *topos* of "wisdom beyond one's years": *ad Flor.* 3-4 (cf. Cassiodorus, *Variae* VIII 12,2; Curtius, *European Literature* [above, ch.2, n.61], pp.98-101, and Thraede, *Studien* [above, ch.1, n.11], p.50, n.110, and p.138, n.218) – Arator's use of this *topos* is evidently influenced by Luke's account of the boy Jesus speaking to the elders in the temple (Lk 2,46-48). In the *Ep. ad Parth.* panegyrical commonplaces are especially frequent. The letter begins with a *laus* of Parthenius incorporating many of the standard elements of the panegyric: distinguished ancestry, 1-6 (in the form of a *praeteritio*), place of birth, 15-18, achievements of career, 19-31 (with appropriate emphasis on literary achievements).

[103] The letter to Florianus is made up almost entirely of variations on the modesty *topos*, appropriate to literary prefaces (Thraede, 'Arator', [above, n.96], p.191). For the biblical image of lines 5-6 (Florianus' favourable reception of Arator's poem is compared to Jesus giving his hand to the sinking Peter) see Thraede, p.195, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.liv, n.172, who compare Prudentius, *C. Symm.* 2, *praef.*

Arator's motives for composing his Bible paraphrase and the procedures he adopted in so doing.

As Thraede[104] recognizes, the poet represents himself as motivated by three considerations in composing his Bible paraphrase: personal inclination, the encouragement of Parthenius and the desire to thank Vigilius for his protection. According to Arator's own account, he had originally wished to compose a mythological epic (*ad Parth.* 49-52).[105] Parthenius instead urged him to turn his talents to the praise of the Lord (*ad Domini laudes*, ibid. 55-56). On retiring to a religious life in Rome, Arator began to scan the Scriptures for an appropriate subject for his verse. He was attracted by the Psalms and Genesis as possible subjects, but eventually settled on Acts (ibid. 69-78). Thus, according to Arator's account, Parthenius provided the initial impulse for the poet's choice of a Christian theme. Thraede has emphasized how much there is that is conventional in the poet's account.[106] It would be unwise to put too much faith in its historical accuracy. Similarly, the desire to recompense Pope Vigilius for his protection,[107] although no doubt a contributory factor, was unlikely to have been the dominant motive in Arator's decision to turn his poetic talents to a Christian theme. Once he had committed himself to a religious life, what more natural than to employ those talents which had secured his advancement in the secular world in the service of his new mistress, the Church? To the extent that the Pope was the temporal embodiment of the Church, he was the natural dedicatee of Arator's poem.[108]

Why, then, did Arator choose to versify the Acts of the Apostles? The poet himself gives an answer in a section of the letter to Parthenius already referred to:

[104] Thraede, pp.189-90.

[105] This is presumably what is meant by the passage in question; see Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 3, p.210.

[106] Thraede, 'Arator', (above, n.96), p.189. Cassiodorus' *Psalm Commentary* was also occasioned by the author's withdrawal from secular life (*CCL* 97, 3.1-2) and was dedicated to a Pope (*CCL* 97, 6.121-24).

[107] The idea of the poem as a thank-offering is also conventional, Thraede, pp.189-90.

[108] I have avoided the problem of the relationship between the three dedicatory epistles to Arator's paraphrase. The letter to Parthenius contains instructions for the dissemination of the poem in Gaul. It was apparently intended to serve as a preface to that text and presumably to replace the letter to Vigilius (cf. line 100). The letter to Vigilius would most naturally have been composed to accompany the paraphrase when it was presented to Pope Vigilius in April 544 (cf. the subscription quoted by McKinlay [above, n.97], p.xxviii). This event is already referred to as past history in the letter to Parthenius (87-88). The relationship between the letters to Florianus and Vigilius remains unclear to me.

namque ego, Romanae caulis permixtus amoenis
ecclesiae, tonso vertice factus ovis,
pascua laeta videns et aprica volumina Christi
quaerebam gustu tangere cuncta meo
et nunc Davidicis assuetus floribus odas
mandere, nunc Genesim mens cupiebat edax.
cumque simul violas et lilia carpere mallem
quae vetus atque novus congeminavit odor,
incidit ille mihi, quem regula nominat Actus,
messis apostolicae plenus in orbe liber,
in quo nos Dominus Petro piscante levavit
de gremio salsi caeruleique maris ... (*ad Parth.* 69-80)

For I, who had joined the delightful fold of the Roman Church and become a sheep by taking the tonsure, seeing the rich meadows and sunny expanse of Christ's word, sought to taste everything, and at one moment, accustomed to the flowers of David, was eager to crop Psalms, at another my hungry mind longed to feed on Genesis. And since I would rather graze on violets and lilies together, the scent of the old and the new combined, the book properly called Acts occurred to me, full as it is of the Apostles' harvest in the world, in which the Lord, through Peter's fishing, rescued us from the depths of the blue and salty sea ....

The proper interpretation of line 76 is crucial to my argument. Thraede[109] paraphrases this passage as follows: "er habe eine Umdichtung des Psalters oder ein Hexaemeron erwogen, dann aber einen gleichzeitig historischen und aktuellen Stoff vorgezogen .... Diese Zielangabe passt nur auf die Gestalt des Petrus bzw. die petrinische Kirche." That is, Acts not only offered a historical account of the apostolic mission (*vetus*), but also had a contemporary relevance through the figure of Peter to the Church of Rome and the head of that Church, Pope Vigilius (*novus odor*). Such an interpretation of the antithesis between *vetus* and *novus odor* is not in itself impossible. But the antithesis is more naturally understood of the Old and New Testaments, the old and new dispensations. Arator frequently draws attention to this contrast in the course of his paraphrase. Passages in the Old Testament are interpreted typologically as anticipating and being realized by the events of the New; hence the New Testament can be said to combine the scents of

[109] Thraede, 'Arator', (above, n.96), p.189. The best discussion of this passage is by Kartschoke (above, n.2), pp.53-55. My own conclusion that *vetus atque novus odor* must refer to the Old and New Testaments was reached independently. I am glad to see it is shared by Kartschoke. I cannot, however, agree with him that *volumina Christi* refers to the New Testament in contrast with *flores Davidici* and *Genesis*, the Old. *Volumina Christi* must refer to the Bible as a whole.

both.[110] It is to the Jews' discredit that they refuse to recognize the new order of things.[111] The antithesis *vetus* : *novus* is often found in such passages.[112] It must clearly bear this same sense in the passage of the letter to Parthenius under discussion. That is not to deny that Arator was aware of the relevance of the figure of Peter to the contemporary situation of the Church; it is only to assert that the present passage does not carry such a connotation.

Such allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures is central to Arator's paraphrastic technique. In the letter to Vigilius (19-22) the poet describes his method:

> versibus ergo canam quos Lucas rettulit Actus,
> historiamque sequens carmina vera loquar.
> alternis reserabo modis quod littera pandit
> et res si qua mihi mystica corde datur.

> I shall sing in verse the Acts of Luke, and following the narrative shall compose a true poem. Alternately I shall reveal what the letter declares and whatever mystical sense is revealed to my heart.

This passage, too, has been misunderstood by recent critics. Herzog[113] describes Arator's procedure, paraphrasing *ad Vig.* 21-22, as follows: "prosaische Korollarien repräsentieren einen durchlaufenden sakralen Text (21); ihm folgen jeweils poetische Exegesen (22)." Herzog has merely made explicit an error already implied in Thaede's article on Arator.[114] A number of objections may be raised to this interpretation of the text. The "prosaische Korollarien" Herzog refers to are presumably the prose *argumenta* prefaced to each section of the paraphrase in McKinlay's edition. But it must be extremely doubtful whether these *argumenta* were written by Arator. McKinlay, certainly, does not think so; Hudson-Williams[115] shares McKinlay's opinion, though he is critical of some of his arguments.

[110] Cf. II 303, *praeterit ergo vetus Christo nascente figura.*

[111] I 312-34, II 87-88, 246-55, 909-12 (cf. Cassiodorus, *Ps. Commentary ad Ps.* 118,100 [*CCL* 98, 1100.1738 - 1101.1741], with the antithesis *novus* : *senior*).

[112] I 327 *planta* vetus, *sociare* novis *et condere libris*; II 252-53 *ne quaere* vetusto/ *more premi* novitatis *opem*; 361-63 *illa figura,/qua sine nulla* vetus *subsistit littera, demum/hac melius* novitate *manet*; 893 (*vasa*) *quae* veteri *de lege* novo *rubuere liquore*; 1161-62 veteresque *rapinas/in legis* novitate *paras?*

[113] Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.liv and n.174 (soo, too, Kartschoke [above, n.2], p.53). The reservation must always be made that Herzog's second volume, dealing with Arator, has not yet appeared. The error may be corrected in that volume.

[114] Thraede, 'Arator', (above, n.96), pp.188 and 190.

[115] McKinlay (above, n.97), p.155; A. Hudson-Williams, 'Notes on the Text and Interpretation of Arator', *VChr* 7 (1953), p.91. Manitius, too, denies they are the work of Arator, *Geschichte* (above, n.66), p.370.

The most conclusive evidence is that the earliest witness to the text of Arator, a seventh-century fragment preserved in *Bodl. Ms. e Mus.* 66, includes no *argumenta*.[116] The burden of proof is with those who would maintain Arator's authorship of the *argumenta*.

Even were this demonstrable, the passage in question could not carry the meaning given it by Herzog. In the first couplet (19-20), Arator twice emphatically states that he is writing a verse paraphrase of Acts (*versibus ergo canam ... carmina vera loquor*). Arator draws particular attention to this point by repeating it in the first and last hemistichs of the couplet. It is, therefore, inconceivable that in the very next line he should speak of his paraphrase as partly in prose. The antithesis in lines 21-22 is between the literal and mystical (i.e. spiritual) sense of the Scriptures. These two senses of the Scriptures are to alternate in his verse paraphrase. The phrase *alternis ... modis*, which presumably gave rise to the confusion, means no more than "alternately." The commentator in *Cantabrigiensis (Trinitatis Collegii)* B. 143, quoted by McKinlay *ad loc.*, is quite right to gloss *alternis* as *aliquando historicam aliquando spiritalem*.[117] Nor does this explanation of the passage conflict with Arator's actual procedure. Arator habitually alternates paraphrases of the literal sense of the text, often in a rather summary form, with extensive elaborations on the mystical sense of the passage in question.

This systematization of paraphrastic procedure goes well beyond Sedulius' practice. In the *C.P.* allegorical interpretation is just one means of diversifying the Gospel narrative. It is not applied systematically to every passage and, when used, it is often incorporated into, rather than set apart from, the narrative. This is not the case in Arator's poem.[118] The literal and figurative senses of a

[116] For the Bodleian fragment – the *argumentum* is missing between I 118 and 119 – see Neil R. Ker, E.A. Lowe and A.P. McKinlay, 'A New Fragment of Arator in the Bodleian', *Speculum* 19 (1944), pp.351-59.

[117] Until recently the passage has always been correctly understood by commentators, cf. Manitius, *Geschichte* (above, n.66), p.369, n.2, and Chatillon (above, n.100), pp.43-45. Compare also the medieval verses on Arator quoted among McKinlay's *testimonia*, p.xxix (first passage), and by Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 5 (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1970), pp.67-68.

[118] Like Sedulius (*O.P.* II 17; 224.1 - 225.4), Arator distinguishes a three-fold sense of the Scriptures, historical, moral and spiritual (II 890-91), but in the systematic way he applies his exegetical principles to the text before him, and in his belief that every passage must have a figurative as well as a literal sense, he is closer to Cassiodorus (cf. Cassiodorus, *Praef. ad Ps.* 143 [*CCL* 98, 1281.4-5]). For Cassiodorus' exegetical methods in his Psalm commentary see Hahner (above, n.24), pp.18-62. Although Cassiodorus distinguishes in his preface between *spiritalis intellegentia* and *mysticus*

passage are seen as quite distinct, as *ad Vig.* 21-22 implies. No attempt is made to construct a unified narrative, combining the two approaches. A consequence of this dichotomy is the tendency for the poetic qualities of Arator's paraphrase (literary reminiscences, ecphrastic expansions and other characteristic features of late Latin poetry) to be concentrated in the literal, narrative sections. Interpretative sections, unless they contain narrative elements, as for instance in the account of the rejuvenation of the eagle (II 528-40), are largely devoid of poetic ornament. We can perhaps see here an over-rigid interpretation and application of Sedulius' remarks about the Christian uses of poetry.[119] In Sedulius the aesthetic and mnemonic properties of verse are complementary and inseparable. Arator has taken these two qualities and applied them to the exegetical distinction between a text's literal and its spiritual sense. In his scheme of things the charm of poetry, as achieved by the ornamented style, is appropriate to the passages that paraphrase the literal sense of the text. By contrast, in his elaborations on the mystical sense of the text, he relies exclusively on the mnemonic properties of verse, which are largely inherent in the metrical form, without recourse to literary embellishment.[120]

Old Testament Poets

The New Testament poets span a period of over two centuries. They provide us with valuable information in prefatory material and dedicatory letters concerning their motives in writing their epics and the procedures they followed. The writers of Old Testament epic, all of whom wrote probably in the fifth century, are less given to poetological reflection. The most shadowy figure of all is the author of a paraphrase of the Heptateuch, in all likelihood the earliest of the Old Testament epics. Alone of the biblical epics it lacks a preface or a

sensus (*praef.* 14; *CCL* 97, 17.7-9), in practice no difference is observable (Hahner, p.19). Cassiodorus' *Complexiones in Actus Apostolorum* (*PL* 70, 1381-1406) follows a quite different method. It contains a summary of the contents of Acts, with no attempt at spiritual interpretation (the *Complexiones* is described by R. Helm, 'Cassiodorus', *RAC* 2 [Stuttgart, 1954], col. 921, as "kurzgefasste Inhaltsangaben"; cf. Cassiodorus' own definition of *complexiones*, *PL* 70, 1319-22). There is nothing in Arator comparable to Cassiodorus' use of the traditional scholastic disciplines, especially rhetoric and dialectic, for biblical interpretation (Schlieben [above, n.24], *passim*).

[119] Above, pp.85-86.

[120] For examples of the exploitation of the mnemonic value of verse for didactic purposes see Julius Ziehen, 'Zur Geschichte der Lehrdichtung in der spätrömischen Litteratur', *NJA* 1 (1898), pp.404-406 and 414-415.

dedicatory letter. In 1912 Hass began his study of this work with the remark, "von dem Heptateuchdichter Cyprian ist mit Sicherheit kaum mehr bekannt als der Name."[121] Despite the bleakness of his assessment, Hass was in one respect over-optimistic: Jülicher[122] had already questioned the reliability of the attribution to Cyprian. The evidence for the name is late and Herzog[123] is probably right to explain the attribution as a secondary development, designed to confer prestige on the anonymous work by assigning it to a respected Church father, Cyprian. The anonymous poet's homeland is equally uncertain,[124] and the arguments scholars have adduced are inconclusive. The most promising criterion would seem to be the provenance of the biblical text form used. The manuscripts of the Old Latin version closest to those used by the poet are assigned by Bonifatius Fischer, in the introduction to the Beuron edition of the *Vetus Latina* text of Genesis, to two different but related revisions of the European text, designated by him *S* and *I*.[125] The former text is

[121] Willy Hass, *Studien zum Heptateuchdichter Cyprian mit Beiträgen zu den vorhieronymianischen Heptateuchübersetzungen*, diss. (Berlin, 1912), p.5. It was Rudolf Peiper who apparently established that the author of the paraphrase was named Cyprian, first in his edition of Avitus, *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti Viennensis Episcopi Opera quae supersunt*, *MGH. Auctores Antiquissimi* 6.2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), pp.lx-lxiii, and then in his edition of the *Heptateuchos*, *Cypriani Galli Poetae Heptateuchos*, *CSEL* 23 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1891), pp.xxiii-xxv. Peiper had tentatively proposed in his Avitus edition (p.lxiii) that the Cyprian in question was a *Cyprianus Tolonensis*, pupil of Caesarius of Arles, but he withdrew this suggestion in his later work (p.xxiv). Later attempts to identify Cyprian with the author of the *Cena Cypriani* – Adolph Harnack, *Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften und die 'Acta Pauli'*, Texte und Untersuchungen, n.f. 4, 3b (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1899), pp.23-25, and H. Brewer, 'Über den Heptateuchdichter Cyprian und die *Caena Cypriani*', *ZKTh* 28 (1904), pp.92-115 – were equally unsuccessful (cf. Hass, pp.6-11; but the identification is still maintained by Schanz-Hosius, vol. 3, p.383, and L. Krestan, 'Cyprianus III [gallischer Dichter]', *RAC* 3 [Stuttgart, 1957], coll. 477-81).

[122] Jülicher, 'Cyprianus Gallus poeta', *RE* 4 (Stuttgart, 1901), col. 1941 (cf. Ebert [above, n.66], vol. 1, p.121).

[123] Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.xxv-xxxii, 53-60. For the evidence of manuscripts and library catalogues see Peiper, *Cypriani Heptateuchos* (above, n.121), pp.i-xiii.

[124] The poet has most often been thought to be from Gaul. So Peiper, *Cypriani Heptateuchos* (above, n.121), p.xxiv, basing his arguments in part on the linguistic evidence collected by Carl Becker, *De Metris in Heptateuchum*, diss. (Bonn: Georg, 1889), pp.18-27. Lucian Müller, 'Zu Ennius und den christlichen Dichtern', *RhM* 21 (1866), p.127, had already suggested the anonymous poet might be from Gaul. His only reason was the extensive literary activity in Gaul in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Becker's arguments were dismissed by Hermann Best, *De Cypriani quae feruntur Metris in Heptateuchum*, diss. (Marburg, 1891), pp.54-55, J. Cornu, 'Zum Heptateuchos Cypriani', *ALLG* 13 (1904), p.192, Brewer (above, n.121), p.94, n.2, and Hass (above, n.121), pp.5-6.

[125] Fischer (ed.), *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 2. Genesis* (Freiburg: Herder, 1951-1954), pp.17-19. He vouches for the distinction between texts *S* and *I* only in the book of Genesis (p.17). The manuscripts are identified by Hass

first found in Spain and later in southern Gaul and northern Italy; the latter was current in Italy. Augustine, Ambrose and Lucifer of Cagliari knew text *I*. They are the fathers whose *Vetus Latina* texts show most points of contact with the Heptateuch paraphrase.[126] The evidence, then, points to southern Gaul or northern Italy as the place of origin of the verse Heptateuch. No greater precision is possible.

The paraphrase cannot have been written before 397, the date of Claudian's panegyric on the third consulate of Honorius: *Exod.* 474-76 clearly presupposes *III cons. Hon.* 97-99.[127] A *terminus ante quem* is more difficult to establish. It is generally supposed that Claudius Marius Victorius reveals knowledge of the Heptateuch paraphrase in his *Alethia*.[128] This would point to a *terminus ante quem* of approximately 430.[129] The parallels between the two poems have not convinced all scholars of a dependence,[130] nor is the question of priority absolutely resolved.[131] Nevertheless, the cumulative evi-

(pp.27-40) as the *Codex Lugdunensis* 403 (given the siglum 100 in the Beuron edition) and the Würzburg palimpsest (Mp. theol. fol. 64a, 103 Beuron). Hass posits a common ancestor to the codices, a version of the *Vetus Latina* that originated in Gaul (pp.36-39). For a description of the manuscripts in question see Fischer, pp.5-7 and 10-12. For earlier discussions of the text form used in the Heptateuch paraphrase see Becker, pp.27-36, and Best, pp.37-48.

[126] Hass, pp.36-37.

[127] As noted by Becker (above, n.124), p.37, Peiper, *Cypriani Heptateuchos* (above, n.121), p.285, Best (above, n.124), p.51; cf. Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.54 and 145, n.350. Best, pp.49-52, lists a number of other supposed imitations of Claudian. But many of them, as Anton Stutzenberger notes, *Der Heptateuch des gallischen Dichters Cyprianus*, prog. (Zweibrücken: Kranzbühler, 1903), pp.42-46, can be paralleled in other poets. The passage from Claudian is also quoted by Augustine, *De Civ. D.* V 26; *CCL* 47, 162.29-30, but in a reduced form. The Heptateuch poet seems to have known the full quotation.

[128] For the parallels that have been adduced see Carl Schenkl, *Claudii Marii Victoris oratoris Massiliensis Alethia*, *CSEL* 16 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1888), pp.352-53, Becker, pp.38-41, Peiper, *Cypriani Heptateuchos*, pp.xxv-xxvi and 275-81, and Heinrich Maurer, *De exemplis quae Claudius Marius Victor in Alethia secutus sit*, diss. (Marburg, 1896), pp.61-67.

[129] Cf. P.F. Hovingh, *Claudius Marius Victorius, Alethia, La prière et les vers 1-170 du livre I*, diss. (Groningen: Wolters, 1955), pp.22-23 and 45, Helge Hanns Homey, *Studien zur Alethia des Claudius Marius Victorius*, diss. (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1972), p.7.

[130] Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.54, n.20, doubts their probative value.

[131] M. Petschenig, in his review of Peiper's edition, *BPhW* 11 (1891), col. 780, and Hass (above, n.121), pp.6 and 40, believe the *Alethia* is earlier. Petschenig bases his argument on the greater metrical licence of the Heptateuch paraphrase. Hass believes the similarities between the Vulgate and the biblical text used by the author of the Heptateuch paraphrase require a date for that poem after 430, and later than the probable date of the *Alethia*. Only on this hypothesis can he explain the Heptateuch poet's apparent knowledge of the Vulgate text. But, as Becker (above, n.124), pp.35-36, had already proposed, the similarities can be explained by the assumption of *Vetus Latina* influence on the Vulgate text. This assumption is confirmed by Fischer (above, n.125), pp.18 and 25. In Genesis at least the Vulgate reveals the influence of a European text of the *I* form.

dence seems to suggest a date in the first quarter of the fifth century.[132]

The manuscripts preserve no title for the work. It is treated simply as a metrical version of the Bible, and divided according to the biblical book divisions. The title *Heptateuchos* was used by Peiper and is the conventional designation of the work.[133] I shall adopt it in my discussion (abbreviated to *Hept.*). But the work originally included all the historical books of the Old Testament. Library catalogues speak of continuations for Kings, Chronicles, Esther, Judith and Maccabees; fragments from Kings and Chronicles are preserved in Aldhelm's *De Metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis* and Mico of St. Riquier's *florilegium*.[134] The poet gives us no guidance on his reasons for writing the work.[135] But his motive seems not to have been primarily didactic since the poem contains no overt spiritual instruction.[136] The most favoured hypotheses have always been that

[132] The poet's use of a *Vetus Latina* text and his close adherence to the biblical original have been taken to imply a date early in the fifth century. But neither argument is decisive. *Vetus Latina* texts continued to be used in Gaul after the appearance of the Vulgate. Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Age* (reprint; New York: Franklin [1958]), pp.3-5. The literal handling of the biblical text in the Heptateuch paraphrase is most naturally taken as evidence that that poem represents an early stage in the development of the Old Testament paraphrase. It is possible, however, that the poet simply was less accomplished in handling his material than other Old Testament poets or did not have the ambition to produce a more elaborate work.

[133] Cf. the library catalogues of Lorsch (tenth century: *Metrum ... super Heptateuchum*) and Cluny (twelfth century: *in eptateucum versifice*), quoted by Peiper, *Cypriani Heptateuchos* (above, n.121), p.i.

[134] Peiper prints the fragments in his edition, pp.209-11. The fragment he quotes from Job rests upon a misunderstanding of Aldhelm's text and should be deleted; see Rudolf Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, *MGH. Auctores Antiquissimi* 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), pp.63-64, and Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Müller's Handbuch, vol. 9.2 (Munich: Beck, 1911-1931), vol. 1, p.137. For Mico see L. Traube (ed.), *MGH. Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp.279-94.

[135] In fact the poet speaks in his own person only twice in the *Hept.*, each time in a conventional remark about metrical restrictions on freedom of expression: *E* 1082-86, *L* 34 (the books of the *Hept.* will be referred to as follows: *G*, Genesis; *E*, Exodus; *L*, Leviticus; *N*, Numbers; *D*, Deuteronomy; *Jo*, Joshua; *Ju*, Judges). For similar remarks in classical literature see Peiper, *ad L* 34.

[136] But note the trinitarian interpretation of the three *viri* who visited Abraham (Gen. 18,1ff.; *G* 611-12 and 634) and the references to *Christus* (*E* 413, *N* 106); cf. Becker (above, n.124), p.44, n.2, Herzog, p.118. In a number of passages the poet shows himself aware of the soteriological implications of the Israelites' journey to the Promised Land, but he does not insist upon the allegorical interpretation of narrative events.

the work was intended either for reading in schools or as literary entertainment for a larger circle.[137] The former view depends primarily on an inference from the *Precatio* to Claudius Marius Victorius' *Alethia* (*Prec.* 104-105), where the poet clearly expects a young readership. But the Heptateuch paraphrase is a quite different kind of work from the overtly didactic *Alethia*, and evidence from the one poem cannot be applied indiscriminately to the other. There is no reason to believe that the Heptateuch paraphrase was intended for use in schools or that it ever was so used before the medieval period. The metrical irregularities of the poem would certainly make it an unsuitable school text.[138] The more plausible hypothesis is that the work was intended as literary entertainment for cultivated readers; those whom Sedulius describes as especially susceptible to the charm of poetry.

A notice in Gennadius' *De viris illustribus* (61) records that Claudius Marius Victorius,[139] the author of the *Alethia*, was a rhetor in Marseilles. He lived during the first half of the fifth century. Hovingh would fix the date of the *Alethia* more precisely to the third decade of that century.[140] Beyond that no more is known of the poet.

[137] Cf. Hass (above, n.121), p.5: "Völlig gehen auch die Anschauungen über die Absicht des Dichters auseinander. Nach den einen hat er sein Werk nur für den Schulunterricht bestimmt, nach dem Urteil anderer war er als Unterhaltungslektüre für weitere Kreise berechnet." Hass (pp.11-12), along with Becker, p.7, Manitius, *Geschichte* (above, n.66), p.169, and Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 2, p.842, belongs to the former school; Brewer (above, n.121), pp.104-105, and Stanislas Gamber, *Le livre de la Genèse dans la poésie latine au Vme siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1899) p.5 (but cf. p.34) support the latter view.

[138] For irregularities in metre and prosody in the *Hept.* see Becker (above, n.124), pp.10-17, John E.B. Mayor, *The Latin Heptateuch* (London: Clay, 1889), pp.xlviii-liii, Best (above, n.124), pp.19-32, Manitius, *Geschichte* (above, n.66), p.170, Stutzenberger (above, n.127), pp.33-36, and the *index metricus* in Peiper's edition (pp.344-48). Gamber, pp.193-200, compares the Heptateuch poet's practice in this respect with that of other writers of paraphrases of Genesis. A study of the poet's use of elision, André Longpré, 'Traitement de l'élision chez le poète *Cyprianus Gallus*', *Phoenix* 26 (1972), pp.63-77, has come to the conclusion that in this respect at least he departs little from classical standards.

[139] For the name see Hovingh, *Claudius Marius Victorius* (above, n.129), pp.15-16, and the preface to his edition, *Claudii Marii Victorii Alethia*, *CCL* 128 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), pp.119-20. Hovingh argues for Victorius as the true form of the poet's name. In older works the form Victor is preferred. His arguments have been accepted by Homey (above, n.129), p.7, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.xxiii. The *Alethia* survives in just one manuscript, *Parisinus Latinus* 7558 (*saec.* IX). For a description of the manuscript see Ernst Dümmler, 'Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der lateinischen Dichtungen aus der Zeit der Karolinger II', *Neues Archiv* 4 (1879), pp.299-301.

[140] Cf. above, n.129. The attempt of Hass (above, n.121), p.40, to date the work to shortly after 408 on the basis of a reference to the Alans (III 192) is misguided (cf. Schenkl [above, n.128], pp.348-49).

The *Alethia* contains no personal details, although it confirms in a general way the poet's rhetorical and antiquarian learning.[141] In one respect, Gennadius' notice conflicts with what is now known of the *Alethia*. The poem has come down to us in three books, ending with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Gennadius records that it extended to the death of Abraham; according to two manuscripts of the *De viris illustribus* it ran to four books. It has been assumed, therefore, that the poem as now preserved is incomplete; that a fourth book, taking the narrative down to the death of Abraham, has been lost.[142] This seems the most probable explanation of the discrepancy. Otherwise, Gennadius' notice must simply be dismissed as inaccurate.[143] There can be no doubt that from the point of view of narrative unity the death of Abraham would be a more natural conclusion to the work. As it now stands, the poem breaks off in the middle of Abraham's life; more importantly, the birth of Isaac, an event often foretold in book three, falls outside its scope.[144] It is hard to imagine a conscious literary technician like Claudius Marius Victorius tolerating such an inconsistency.[145]

Gennadius records that the *Alethia* was dedicated to the poet's son, Aetherius. This agrees with the poet's own words in the *Precatio* (104-105), where he describes the poem as a work of instruction for the young:

> (da nosse precanti)
> dum teneros formare animos et corda paramus
> ad verum virtutis iter puerilibus annis.[146]

[141] For the poet's grammatical, antiquarian, philosophical and legal knowledge see Schenkl, pp.349-52.

[142] Ebert (above, n.66), vol. 1, pp.370-71; Auguste Bourgoin, *De Claudio Mario Victore rhetore christiano quinti saeculi*, diss. (Paris: Hachette, 1883), pp.21-22; Gamber (above, n.137), pp.9-10; Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 3, pp.32-33; Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.xxiii.

[143] Homey (above, n.129), pp.184-89, argues that the poem is complete as we now have it. Both he (pp.185-86) and Schenkl (above, n.128, p.348) discount the accuracy of Gennadius' notice. Schenkl's view (p.349), that the poet intended to cover the whole of Genesis in twelve books, but died before he could complete his project, is quite without support. The poet's own summary of the content of his work (*Prec.* 107-11) is too vague to permit any definite conclusions. Homey (pp.10-13) suggests a possible interpretation of the passage; cf. Hovingh, *Claudius Marius Victorius* (above, n.129), pp.17-18.

[144] It is presupposed in the series of covenants God makes with Abraham and made explicit in *Alethia* III 610-20. *Pubere nato*, III 626, must refer to Ishmael (cf. Gen. 17,23, *et accepit Abraham Ismael filium suum*).

[145] The poet's conscious literary artistry is revealed in his acknowledgement of digressions (I 405-406 and III 210) and his careful handling of transitions.

[146] The passage does not necessarily indicate that the *Alethia* was intended for use in schools. No doubt young students, under the spell of Virgil and the other poets

(Grant knowledge to my prayer) as I prepare to shape tender minds and hearts to the true path of virtue in their youthful years.

The poet's intent is clearly didactic. We may suppose that metrical form was chosen to make the work more attractive to its young readers. Gennadius' description of the work as a commentary on Genesis (*commentatus est in Genesim*) is not inappropriate. As a number of scholars have noted, the poet makes extensive use of Christian exegesis.[147] But although interpretative expansions figure largely in the *Alethia* and give it its distinctive character, the poet himself thinks of his work as a biblical paraphrase, not a metrical commentary:

> hinc iam fas mihi sit quaedam praestringere, quaedam
> sollicito trepidum penitus transmittere cursu,
> mutata quaedam serie transmissa referre. (I 144-46)

Henceforward there are some things I must abbreviate, some I must fearfully quite pass over in my anxious progress,[148] and some already passed over I must relate in an altered sequence.

The poet refers to three characteristic procedures of the paraphrase: abbreviation (144), omission (144-45) and transposition (146).[149] His

traditionally read in schools, would be eager readers of contemporary poetry. Claudius Marius Victorius aims to harness this enthusiasm for poetry to Christian ends.

For the locution *puerilibus annis* see ps.-Hil., *Macc.* 273 and 386, Sidonius, *C.* 5,249, Arator, *ad Parth.* 49 – also referring to the study of poetry – and the parallels listed by Hovingh in his edition, *ad loc.* For the phrase *verum virtutis iter* Hovingh (*ad loc.*) compares Juvencus I 24 *ad verum convertet iter* and Prudentius, *C. Symm.* II 150 *virtutis iter* (cf. Maurer [above, n.128], p.69).

[147] Particularly hexaemeral literature; cf. Maurer, pp.8-9 and 17-53 (for his use of Ambrose's *Hexaemeron*), Olindo Ferrari, 'Intorno alle fonti del poema di Claudio Mario Vittore', *Didaskaleion* 1 (1912), pp.60-67, Thraede, 'Epos', coll. 1028-29, Homey (above, n.129), *passim*. Frank Egleston Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis*, diss. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1912), pp.49, n.4 (*Alethia* I 71ff.) and 71-72 (I 178ff.), notes two parallels between the *Alethia* and hexaemeral tradition. Many more could be cited. Maurer, p.61, and Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 3, p.34, both echo Gennadius' description of the *Alethia* as a commentary on Genesis.

[148] Claudius Marius Victorius' trepidation (emphasized here by the juxtaposition of *sollicito trepidum*) is a *topos* of the Christian preface; cf. Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.83-84 and 460, Thraede, 'Untersuchungen zum Ursprung und zur Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie III', *JbAC* 6 (1963), pp.101-10, Kartschoke (above, n.2), p.66.

[149] In my dissertation I followed Gamber (above, n.137), pp.55-56, and Maurer (above, n.128), p.10, in interpreting the second procedure here referred to as paraphrastic amplification. I do not now see how that interpretation can be maintained. The general argument, however, remains unaffected. Claudius Marius Victorius is clearly talking as a paraphrast from the point of view of paraphrastic

concern to explain his deviations from the biblical text shows his work to be a biblical paraphrase, not a biblical commentary, for it is a principle of the paraphrase that the sense of the original be preserved. In fact, the techniques described here are used extensively throughout the *Alethia*, although lengthy omissions are unusual.[150] The poet always aspires to reflect accurately the content of the original.

The third Old Testament poet, Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, was born in the middle of the fifth century of a distinguished Gallo-Roman family. His father, Isicius, was a senator and later bishop of Vienne in Narbonnese Gaul.[151] On his father's death, Avitus succeeded to the episcopal see of Vienne (in or shortly before 491).[152] A vigorous defender of Catholic orthodoxy, it was he who converted Sigismund, son of the Burgundian king Gundobad and later king himself, to the Catholic faith. A number of his anti-heretical writings are preserved, as well as a collection of letters and fragments of a book of homilies.[153] Avitus is thought to have died in or about the year 518.[154]

theory. The next chapter will show that omissions are quite consistent with, indeed are an essential part of, the abbreviating techniques of the paraphrase.

[150] Witke (above, n.32), p.161, seems to understand this passage only of the account of the creation of man, which immediately follows it. In fact, Claudius Marius Victorius, alone of the Genesis poets, makes no use of transposition in this particular episode. The passage here discussed must refer to the *Alethia* as a whole.

[151] The full form of Avitus' name is given in the *inscriptio* to the dedicatory letter to books I-V of the *poemata* (201.1-2 Peiper). For the significance of the three names see Henri Goelzer and Alfred Mey, *Le latin de Saint Avit, évêque de Vienne (450?-526?)*, Université de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des lettres, 26 (Paris: Alcan, 1909), p.1, n.2. It has often been conjectured that the poet was a descendant of the Gallic emperor Avitus (455-456). For Avitus' family see *Poem.* VI 655-61; Georg Losgar, *Studien zu Alcimus Avitus' Gedicht: De spiritalis historiae gestis*, diss. (Neuburg a. Donau: Griessmayer, 1903), pp.3-4, Goelzer and Mey, pp.1-2, Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 3, p.138.

[152] The date depends on a reference in the anonymous *Vita* of Avitus (Moricca, vol. 3, p.139). Some scholars have questioned its reliability. It is, in any case, certain that Avitus was bishop of Vienne by 494.

[153] Cf. Peiper, *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti opera* (above, n.121), pp.v-1 (the tradition of the prose works) and pp.181-82 (*testimonia* for lost works). I will use Peiper's edition throughout rather than the later edition of Ulysse Chevalier, *Oeuvres complètes de saint Avit, évêque de Vienne* (Lyons: Librairie générale catholique et classique, 1890). The Peiper edition is preferred by Goelzer and Mey (above, n.151), p.viii, for their study of Avitus' language and by Abraham Schippers, *Avitus: De Mundi Initio*, diss. (Amsterdam: Kok, 1945), pp.6-7. For the life and literary activity of Avitus see also Karl Friedrich Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Tübingen: Alma Mater Verlag, 1948), pp.100-104 and 154-55.

[154] The testimony of the *Vita beati Aviti* is contradictory (cf. Moricca, [above, n.57], vol. 3, p.140), but the weight of evidence favours the date given (cf. Peter Norbert Frantz, *Avitus von Vienne (ca. 490-518) als Hierarch und Politiker*, diss. [Griefswald: Adler, 1908], pp.13-14, Moricca, vol. 3, p.140, Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, pp.380-82).

Apart from his prose works, there survive six books of Latin hexameters from his pen. Books I-V are biblical in content, book VI, which has its own epistolary preface, is a work on Christian virginity[155] addressed to his sister, Fuscina, who had taken a vow of chastity. (Book VI may be left out of account for our present purposes.) The manuscripts give no overall title to the biblical work, but Avitus himself supplies one in a letter to Apollinaris, son of Sidonius Apollinaris, the distinguished littérateur and bishop of Auvergne: de spiritalis historiae gestis *etiam lege poematis lusi* (*Ep.* LI; 80.21-22 Peiper). Each book of the *De spiritalis historiae gestis* was supplied with its own title by Avitus: *Prologus . . . ad Apollinarem episcopum* (i.e. Avitus' brother, Apollinaris, bishop of Valence) *qui* (sc. *libelli*) *licet nominibus propriis titulisque respondeant* (201.13-14). The titles to the individual books are preserved in the manuscripts and recorded in Isidore's *De viris illustribus* (23) as: *de origine mundi,*[156] *de originali peccato, de sententia dei, de diluvio mundi, de transitu maris rubri.* The date of composition of the *De spiritalis historiae gestis* (hereafter *S.H.G.*) cannot be established with certainty. The work was published in or about the year 507. It is implied in the prologue to Apollinaris that the *S.H.G.* was written before the capture of Vienne, that is, before 500.[157] The most likely period for its composition is the last decade of the fifth century.[158]

[155] Avitus describes the book in the dedicatory letter to his brother Apollinaris as *de consolatoria castitatis laude* (274.6 Peiper). The poem begins in the form of a *laus*, but from line 115 takes the form of moral exhortation. Cf. VI 111: *non haec parva tuam suscepit pagina laudem*, and VI 115: *nunc decet adtonitos cauta te voce monere*. Gustavo Vinay, 'La poesia di Sant'Avito', *Convivium* 9 (1937), pp.432-35 and 455-56, is wrong to argue that books I-VI form a single work; cf. Angelo Roncoroni, 'Note al *De virginitate* di Avito di Vienne', *Athenaeum* 51 (1973), pp.123-25.

[156] The manuscripts give *de initio mundi* rather than *de origine mundi* (cf. Gregory of Tours, *Franc.* II 34 [83.1-3 Krusch/Levison]: *scripsit* (sc. *Avitus*) *enim Humiliarum librum unum,* de mundi principio *et de diversis aliis conditionibus libros sex versu compaginatus*. For other *testimonia* see Peiper, *prooemium*, pp.lxiv-lxvi.

[157] Peiper, p.li, Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 3, pp.142-43. The supposition that the *S.H.G.* was written before the capture of Vienne is based on a passage from the prologue to Apollinaris (201.7-15). Strictly it is only the lost *epigrammata* that are said to have been written before the taking of Vienne. Nevertheless, Avitus leaves his reader with the strong impression (especially through the use of the verb *repperi*, 201.13) that the books of the *S.H.G.* were also written before Vienne's capture (cf. Moricca, *loc. cit.*, for a discussion of this point).

[158] This view is often supported by the supposed imitations of Dracontius' *De Laudibus Dei* in the *S.H.G.*; so Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, p.385. Dracontius' poem is generally thought to have been composed shortly before the death of the Vandal King Gunthamund in 496 (cf. P. Langlois, 'Dracontius', *RAC* 4 [Stuttgart, 1959], coll. 253-54, who, nevertheless, believes a later date is possible). Since Avitus' poem was not published until *ca* 507 imitation by Dracontius is unlikely. For the supposed reminiscences of Dracontius in the *S.H.G.* see Max Manitius, 'Zu spätlateinischen Dichtern I', *ZOEG* 37 (1886), pp.244-50, and, more fully, Schippers (above, n.142), pp.7-24. Schippers' conspectus of supposed reminiscences merely demonstrates how shaky the assumption of dependence is. Friedrich Vollmer, *Fl. Merobaudis Reliquiae, Blosii Aemilii Dracontii Carmina, Eugenii Toletani Episcopi Carmina et Epistulae, MGH. Auctores Antiquissimi* 14 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), p.ix, had already discounted the parallels cited by Manitius. Domenico Romano, *Studi Draconziani* (Palermo: Manfredi [1959]), pp.88-89, also maintains that Avitus knew and imitated Dracontius.

It is evident from the titles of the individual books that Avitus' biblical epic does not strictly follow the sequence of the biblical narrative. Books I to III are consecutive (Gen. 1-3,24). But books IV, on the Flood (Gen. 6-9,17), and V, the Exodus from Egypt (Exod. 1-15,1), deal with isolated episodes in the early history of the Israelites. The continuity of the biblical narrative is broken. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the unity of the *S.H.G.* should be questioned.[159] However, Avitus himself asserts the close connection between the subjects of the first three and last two books (V 706-14).[160] Under the circumstances it is perhaps no longer possible, nor even particularly important, to establish whether a period of time elapsed between the composition of books I-III and IV-V.

(describit factum . . .)
cum purgata sacris deletur culpa fluentis
emittitque novam parientis lympha lavacri
prolem post veteres, quos edidit Eva, reatus.
de qua sermonem praemisso carmine sumpsit,
luctificos replicat tenuis dum pagina lapsus.
si quid triste fuit, dictum est quod paupere versu,
terserit hic sacri memorabilis unda triumphi,
gaudia quo resonant, crimen quo tollitur omne
per lavacrum vivitque novus pereunte veterno.
(V 706-14)

(The event is described . . .) when sin was washed clean by a holy flood and the water of generating baptism brought forth a new race after the former crimes of Eve. Of her my lowly page spoke in earlier verses, when it told of the grievous Fall. But now the glorious waters and their sacred triumph have washed away whatever was sorrowful in my

[159] Gamber (above, n.137), p.154, speaks of book IV as "un poème distinct, sans aucune liaison avec les autres livres." Vinay (above, n.155), pp.432-35 and 453-55, believes that books IV and V were written separately and were not part of Avitus' original conception. Ebert (above, n.66), vol. 1, p.394, notes that books IV and V have the character of a separate work. The theories of Marcel Dando, 'Alcimus Avitus (c. 450-c.518) as the author of the *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, *De Pascha* (*De Cruce*), *De Sodoma* and *De Iona* . . .', *C&M* 26 (1965), pp.258-75, which also have a bearing on this question, are entirely misconceived (cf. Angelo Roncoroni, 'L'epica biblica di Avito di Vienne', *VetChr* 9 [1972], pp.318-24).

[160] Cf. Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, p.385, and Roncoroni, 'L'epica biblica', p.323.

humble poetry. Because of this joy resounds, because of this every fault is removed by baptism and a new man lives, while the old perishes.

Books I-III deal with the Fall from primal innocence (*veteres, quos edidit Eva, reatus*); books IV and V, as Vinay realized, dramatize the possibility of Redemption. Both the Flood and the passage through the Red Sea represent typologically human sinfulness cleansed by the waters of baptism.[161] The poem ends on a joyful note. It is once more possible for the baptized Christian to aspire to that happy state that the first parents had enjoyed before the Fall, a state which had seemed lost forever after the expulsion from Paradise. The unity of the *S.H.G.* lies not in the continuity of the narrative, but in the cycle of Fall and Redemption that the narrative represents. By giving his work the title *De spiritalis historiae gestis*, Avitus emphasized that his concern was not with the sequence of historical narrative but with the order of Christian Salvation.[162]

It is possible that Avitus was influenced in his choice of selective principle by the example of the *Alethia*. Claudius Marius Victorius, too, emphasizes the soteriological significance of his narrative (*Prec.* 107-11). But that principle is not allowed to dictate his choice of biblical material. The *Alethia* aims to reflect faithfully the content of its original, omitting only the most obviously unpoetic passages, such as the genealogies. For much of the poem Claudius Marius Victorius is able to reconcile the demands of fidelity to his original and unity of composition through his skill in handling transitions and his overriding interest in the development of human society. But in the episodes concerning Abraham the narrative necessarily becomes more diffuse. The disparate and sometimes

[161] For the Flood as a figure of baptism see Sedulius, *C.P.* I 73-78, Claudius Marius Victorius, *Alethia* II 440-41 and 556-58, ps.-Hil., *In Genesim ad Leonem Papam* 187-90, Avitus IV 616-20 and 648-58, Arator, *H.A.* I 644-48, 661-63, 1033-35, and Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri: Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1950), pp.55, 64-68 and 76-85, Hugo Rahner, '*Antenna crucis* VII: Die Arche Noe als Schiff des Heils', *ZKTh* 86 (1964), pp.137-79, and Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp.113-14, 120 and 168-69. The interpretation of the flood as a type of baptism is already found in I Pet. 3,20-21. The Egyptians were often thought of as personifying sinfulness. Zeno of Verona, *Tract.* II 54 (*PL* 11,510A): *Aegyptus mundus est iste. Pharo cum populo suo diabolus et spiritus omnis iniquitatis. Israel populus Christianus, qui proficisci iubetur, ut ad futura contendat* (quoted by Daniélou, p.156).

[162] Herzog's characterization of the *S.H.G.* as a "heilsgeschichtliche Bibeldichtung" (*Bibelepik*, p.lvi) is therefore correct. He promises to demonstrate in his forthcoming volume the practical consequences of this attitude in the poem itself.

repetitious events of Genesis 12-18 do not lend themselves well to unified treatment. By invoking as a principle of selection the history of Christian Salvation, Avitus is able to avoid the difficulties of composition encountered by his predecessor. It is open to question whether the separate biblical episodes are, in fact, successfully united by this common theme. But it is clear that Avitus intends the five books to be thought of as a single work, devoted to the cycle of Christian Salvation. In fact, the most striking feature of the *S.H.G.* is that the poet has not been content simply to rely on the sequence of biblical narrative to give form to his work. Throughout he shows an originality of conception and a concern for composition and psychological continuity that have caused a succession of critics to speak highly of his work.[163] It is interesting, then, that Avitus feels bound to make some reference in the prologue to Apollinaris to his habit of departing from the immediate biblical context:

aliquos sane libellos apud quendam familiarem meum postea repperi: qui licet nominibus propriis titulisque respondeant, *et alias tamen causas inventa materiae opportunitate perstringunt.* (201.12-14)

Indeed I later found some books (i.e. the *S.H.G.*) with a friend, which, although they correspond to their own names and title (i.e. their content matches their biblical titles), yet touch on other matters when the opportunity arises.[164]

It may seem as though we are now some way from the paraphrastic principle of fidelity to the original (a principle, it should be noted, which is actually quite elastic in operation). Yet in incorporating digressions into his narrative Avitus, as in so many other respects, is only following the example of the *Alethia*.[165] He remains in the

[163] Ebert's remarks (above, n.66, vol. 1, p.395) are typical: "Hier begegnen wir wirklich einer freien dichterischen Conception, der die Bibel nur den Stoff liefert, welcher zu einer einheitlichen, wohl gegliederten Composition verarbeitert wird" (speaking of books I-III). Cf. Moricca (above, n.57), vol. 3, p.151 (echoing Schanz-Hosius, vol. 4.2, pp.387-88). Only Peter Norbert Frantz (above, n.154), p.21, raises a dissenting voice: "Er (Avitus) hat seine Gedichte nicht verfasst aus dem inneren Drangs des wahren Dichters, sie sind ihm mehr Spielerei gewesen." Gustav Krüger, *Die Bibeldichtung zu Ausgang des Altertums*, Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen, 37. Folge (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1919), pp.14-19, shares the generally high opinion of the *S.H.G.* He speaks (p.18) of "einen völlig selbständigen epischen Entwurf." Most recently Karl Forstner, 'Zur Bibeldichtung des Avitus von Vienne', in *Symmicta Philologica Salisburgensia Georgio Pfligersdorffer ... oblata* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo [n.d.]), has spoken of the *S.H.G.* as the "high point of late antique biblical epic" (p.46, cf. p.58).

[164] For discussions of this passage see Roncoroni, 'L'epica biblica', (above, n.159), pp.303-304, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.lv-lvi.

[165] Digressions in the *Alethia* and *S.H.G.* are discussed below, pp.213-18.

tradition of Old Testament epic. The question of whether Avitus' work can legitimately be called a paraphrase must be postponed until his treatment of the biblical text has been analyzed in succeeding chapters.

Avitus does not explain his purpose in writing the *S.H.G.* But in the second letter to his brother Apollinaris (275.9-12 Peiper), the dedicatory letter to the *De virginitate*, he does acknowledge that it is the cultured few (*paucis intellegentibus*) at whom his work is directed. In a commonplace of Christian literary prefaces, he compares the small readership for polite literature with the many who might be expected to read a serious work of Christian instruction.[166]

This concludes the roll of full-scale biblical epics written in late antiquity. Excluded from primary consideration are a series of shorter Old Testament poems, of which the anonymous *De Sodoma* and *De Iona* and the pseudo-Hilarian *Metrum in Genesim ad Leonem papam* are the most important.[167] Similarly, secondary biblical paraphrases, i.e. those contained in largely non-biblical works, have been disregarded. An exception will be made, however, in the case of the *De Laudibus Dei*, the *magnum opus* of Avitus' African contemporary, Dracontius. The *De Laudibus Dei* (hereafter *L.D.*) is in three books, devoted to the complementary themes of God's slowness to anger and his kindness and mercy towards the human race (his *pietas* – a leitmotif of the *L.D.*).[168] Among the biblical

[166] Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I 1,1 (*PL* 34, 173). It is doubtful whether *Ep.* XLIII (73.6-8) can be interpreted as evidence that the *S.H.G.* was intended for young readers (but cf. Gamber [above, n.137], p.33).

[167] For texts of these works see Peiper, *Cypriani Heptateuchos* (above, n.121), pp.212-26 and 231-39. All three are thought to have been written in the fifth century (cf. Peiper, pp.xxvii-xxix, Krestan [above, n.121], col. 479). The *Metrum in Genesim* is attributed in ms. *B* (*Codex Laudunensis* 273, *s.* ix *ex.*) to Hilary of Poitiers, an impossible attribution. Some (Manitius, *Geschichte* [above, n.66], p.189, and Sam. Cavallin, *Vitae Sanctorum Honorati et Hilarii episcoporum Arelatensium*, Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund 40 [Lund: Gleerup, 1952], p.16) have thought rather of Hilary of Arles – the dedication to Pope Leo I suggests a date in the middle of the fifth century – but even the name Hilary must be open to doubt (cf. Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.xxvii-xxxii). For a list of anonymous and pseudepigraphic poems of primarily biblical content see Herzog, p.xxv. For lost biblical epics of late antiquity see Herzog, xxxii-xxxiii and 167, n.30, and Kurt Smolak, 'Die Stellung der Hexameron-dichtung des Dracontius (*laud. dei* 1, 118-426) innerhalb der lateinischen Genesis-poesie', in *Antidosis: Festschrift für Walther Kraus zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1972), p.384, n.11.

[168] Cf. *L.D.* I 1-2: *Qui cupit iratum placidumve scire tonantem,/hoc carmen, sed mente legat, dum voce recenset*, and I 556, 690-92, II 368, 693-708, 810, III 633-34, 727-36. I follow Vollmer's text in the *MGH. Auctores antiquissimi* 14, unless otherwise noted. The splendour of creation and, in particular, God's care in creating the first parents illustrate his kindness (*pietas*) towards men. The universe itself is created to serve man

illustrations incorporated into the poem is a lengthy paraphrase of Genesis 1-3, the Creation, Fall and expulsion from Paradise (*L.D.* I 118-561). Although in form a secondary paraphrase, this section of the *L.D.* presents an instructive comparison with the full-scale biblical paraphrases. Indeed, Dracontius' version of Genesis (*L.D.* I 118ff.) was reworked by the Spanish poet and bishop, Eugenius of Toledo (*fl.* mid-seventh century), as a separate poem.[169]

Blossius Aemilius Dracontius was an African, probably of senatorial descent.[170] He received the traditional Roman literary education at the school of Felicianus, studied law and practised as *advocatus* in Carthage. His career, however, was cut short. A poem addressed to a "foreign lord" (*ignotum ... dominum*, *Sat.* 94) – recently convincingly identified as Odoacer, king in Italy (476-93)[171] – aroused the suspicion of the Vandal king Gunthamund (484-96). Dracontius was imprisoned and it was in prison that he wrote his two Christian poems, the *Satisfactio* and the *De Laudibus Dei*. The *Satisfactio* is probably the earlier, written before 491. It is a plea for the poet's release, citing the exemplary mercy of God. The plea apparently failed, for in the *L.D.* Dracontius again appeals for release

(*L.D.* I 115-17) – this teleological justification of the creation of the universe is found in the other Genesis paraphrases: *Hept. G* 27-29, *Alethia* I 155-58, *Met. in Gen.* 112-15, *S.H.G.* I 52-54 and 132-37 (cf. Smolak, 'Die Stellung', pp.389-90).

[169] Vollmer prints Eugenius' revisions of the *Satisfactio* and Book I of the *L.D.* opposite the text of Dracontius. For the procedures followed by Eugenius see Vollmer, pp.xvii-xviii, Ettore Provana, 'Blossio Emilio Draconzio: Studio biografico e letterario', *MAT* 62 (1912), pp.77-80 and 88, Karl Reinwald, *Die Ausgabe des ersten Buches der Laudes Dei und der Satisfactio des Dracontius durch Eugenius von Toledo*, prog. (Speyer: Jäger, 1913), and Langlois, 'Notes critiques sur l'Hexameron de Dracontius et sa recension par Eugène de Tolède: à propos d'une édition récente du *De laudibus Dei*', *Latomus* 23 (1964), pp.810-17, and 'Dracontius', (above, n.158), coll. 262-63. Isidore apparently already knew the *L.D.* only in a reduced form: *De vir. ill.* 24, *Dracontius composuit heroicis versibus hexameron creationis mundi et luculente quidem composuit* (I quote Vollmer's text, p.xvii).

[170] Cf. Langlois, 'Dracontius', col. 251. Dracontius' biography is discussed by Vollmer, 'Dracontius', *RE* 5 (Stuttgart, 1905), coll. 1635-36, Provana, pp.26-38, F. Chatillon, 'Dracontiana', *RMAL* 8 (1952), pp.186-97, Romano (above, n.158), pp.9-23, and Langlois, coll. 250-54. The evidence for Dracontius' life is primarily his own writings, supplemented by two manuscript subscriptions.

[171] J.M. Díaz de Bustamente, *Draconcio y sus carmina profana: estudio biográfico, introducción y edición crítica*, Monografías de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela 44 (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago, 1978), pp.51-88. The identification had previously been proposed by Francesco Corsaro, 'Problemi storico-letterari del cristianesimo africano nel V° secolo: Studi su Draconzio', *MSLC* 11 (1961), pp.5-17. Traditionally the foreign lord had been identified as Zeno the Eastern Roman emperor (474-491); cf. Vollmer's edition, pp.vii-viii, Provana, pp.30-33, Langlois, 'Dracontius', coll. 252-54.

from his suffering, overtly to God, but at least implicitly to the secular powers. The date of the poem cannot be established precisely, but its composition probably falls in the last decade of the fifth century.[172] Dracontius was eventually released through the intervention of his friends (*Rom.* VI 36-40). He lived to write a panegyric, now lost, of Gunthamund's successor, Thrasamund (496-523),[173] but nothing is known of him thereafter. In addition to the Christian poems, there survive a collection of poems of pagan content, the *Romulea*, the *Orestis Tragoedia*, now securely attributed to Dracontius, and two minor poems, the *De mensibus* and *De origine rosarum*.

[172] It has generally been supposed that the *L.D.* was written in the reign of Gunthamund (i.e. before 496), but there is no conclusive evidence for this assumption. Book II contains a denunciation of Arianism (98-110), which, it has been thought, suggests that the poem was written in Thrasamund's reign (Provana, pp.35-36, Langlois, col. 253). The evidence that Avitus knew and imitated Dracontius is inconclusive (see above, n.158).

[173] But see now Díaz de Bustamente (above, n.171), pp.93-94.

5

THE MANIPULATION OF THE BIBLICAL TEXT

The earliest biblical epic, that of Juvencus, was written with the intent of improving stylistically on the biblical text. Sedulius, and presumably the other biblical poets, chose to write in verse because of its special attraction to many readers, particularly, we gather from Claudius Marius Victorius, the young; the idiom of Virgilian epic was the most culturally prestigious of all literary styles in late antiquity. This motive of stylistic improvement is evident in all the poems to be discussed, though overlaid in varying degrees with a more characteristically Christian purpose of spiritual instruction, moral edification or biblical exegesis. It is a motive which biblical epic shares with the rhetorical paraphrase and which has persuaded many scholars to see in these poems the application of paraphrastic principles to biblical texts. This view receives some confirmation from the poets' own reflections on their works, discussed in the previous chapter. In particular, Sedulius and Claudius Marius Victorius reveal their familiarity with a basic principle of the rhetorical paraphrase: that the irreducible narrative core of the text to be paraphrased must be retained, but that omissions or amplifications, provided they leave this essential substratum untouched, are quite compatible with the requirement of fidelity to the original.[1] The present chapter will examine some of the basic techniques,

[1] It is true that Sedulius' discussion of this question relates to the *O.P.* not the *C.P.*, but the principle he enunciates is applicable to both works.

common to all the poets, by which the biblical text is recast and stylistically improved.[2]

Abbreviation and Omission

Paraphrastic theory recognized three basic modes of the paraphrase: abbreviation, transposition and amplification.[3] By abbreviation the paraphrast hoped to achieve the quality of *brevitas*, which was one of the canonical virtues of the *narratio*. This demanded the exclusion of everything that was superfluous to the narrative: *omnia quibus sublatis neque cognitioni quicquam neque utilitati detrahatur*.[4] Repetitions were to be eliminated, redundancies to be pruned. Only in this way could a text be brought into conformity with traditional standards of literary excellence. It is not surprising, then, that Juvencus, despite his evident desire to remain as close as possible to the biblical text, will omit parts of that text when stylistic considerations seem to demand it. The few omissions

[2] As far as possible each procedure will be explored in the New Testament, then in the Old Testament poetry. In this way, it is hoped, the separate lines of development followed by the two traditions will be more apparent.

Juvencus and the Heptateuch poet use an Old Latin Bible text (on Juvencus see Marold, 'Ueber das Evangelienbuch' [above, ch.4, n.52], pp.337-41, with W. Sanday's review, *CR* 6 [1892], pp.49-50, Hermann Widmann, *De Gaio Vettio Aquilino Iuvenco Carminis Evangelici Poeta et Vergilii Imitatore*, diss. [Bresslau, 1905], pp.1-12, and Nestler [above, ch.4, n.52], pp.5-31; on the Heptateuch poet see above, ch.4, n.125); Claudius Marius Victorius seems to have made some use of an Old Latin version, the other poets relied on the Vulgate. (Maurer [above, ch.4, n.128], pp.54-60, has pointed to a number of passages in the *Alethia* that presuppose an Old Latin version. Hovingh, *Claudius Marius Victorius* [above, ch.4, n.129], pp.38-40, believes that the poet used an Old Latin text rather than the Vulgate throughout. Gamber [above, ch.4, n.137], pp.81-82, maintains that the poet relied mainly on the Vulgate; cf. Ferrari [above, ch.4, n.147], pp.59-60, and A. Hudson-Williams, 'Notes on Claudius Marius Victor', *CQ* 14 [1964], p.296, n.4.) For Sedulius see Mayr (above, ch.4, n.59), pp.95-96.

Judith McClure, 'The Biblical Epic and its Audience in Late Antiquity', *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 7 (Liverpool: Cairns, 1981), pp.307-309, has questioned whether the biblical poets should be described as seeking to improve the biblical text. I have not been persuaded by her argument.

[3] Quintilian I 9,2 and X 5,8; Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος 24 (440.8-13 Rabe).

[4] Quintilian IV 2,40; cf. Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 56 (cited by Curtius, *European Literature* [above, ch.2, n.61], p.489, n.3): τάχος ἐπὶ πᾶσι χρήσιμον, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μὴ ἀπορία τῶν λεκτέων εἴη· καὶ τοῦτο πορίζεσθαι χρὴ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ ῥημάτων, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων· λέγω δέ, εἰ παραθέοις μὲν τὰ μικρὰ καὶ ἧττον ἀναγκαῖα, λέγοις δὲ ἱκανῶς τὰ μεγάλα· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ παραλειπτέον πολλά. Curtius (p.489) notes that poetry was required to display the virtues proper to a *narratio* (comparing Pliny, *Ep.* V 6,42-43).

of any length from his base text, Matthew, can be explained in this way. Neither Mt 1,1-17, Christ's genealogy, nor 11,16-24 (after II 547), criticism of the Jew's hypocrisy towards John the Baptist and Jesus, are integral parts of the Gospel narrative.[5] Both passages describe the Jewish background to Jesus' life and teaching. As such they were of no particular interest to Juvencus' Roman audience. The elimination of cultural Hebraisms, when they are not an essential part of the biblical narrative, is a feature of Juvencus' paraphrastic technique.[6] Other passages are omitted by Juvencus in order to avoid repetition: Mt 13,44-52, the final two parables of a series on the kingdom of heaven, and 20,29-34, the healing of two blind men (cf. 9,27-31 = II 408-16) are omitted (after III 16 and 621 respectively) for this reason.

Many shorter omissions of a verse or less may be attributed to the same motives, elimination of Hebraisms or avoidance of repetition. But the largest class of omissions is of phrases or passages that contribute some independent detail to the overall picture, but are dispensable to the main thread of the narrative. The parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Mt 25,1-13 = IV 197-226) will serve as an example. Despite a certain amount of rearrangement of the narrative by Juvencus, no points essential to the story are omitted. Only three elements of the biblical story are not explicitly mentioned by Juvencus. The passages are the following:

> prudentes vero acceperunt oleum *in vasis* suis cum lampadibus suis. (Mt 25,4)

> sed sapiens pars illa ...
> ... portare simul curabat olivum.
> (Juv. IV 202-203)

In vasis is omitted as an insignificant detail.

> fatuae autem sapientibus dixerunt: Date nobis de oleo vestro, *quia lampades nostrae extinguuntur*. (Mt 25,8)

> Tum stolidae rogitant olei sibi cedere partem
> Prudentes secum quod tunc gestare videbant. (Juv. IV 212-13)

[5] Widmann (above, n.2), pp.24-32, lists all omissions of a verse or longer, some of which he discusses in detail (pp.32-38); cf. Nestler (above, ch.4, n.52), pp.61-63. On Christ's genealogy see Marold, 'Ueber das Evangelienbuch' (above, ch.4, n.52), p.331, Widmann, pp.32-33, Nestler, pp.32-33 and 62.

[6] On this category of omissions see Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.111-13. The omission of Mt 23,16-26 and 29-36 (after IV 73 and 77), criticism of the scribes and Pharisees, falls into the same category. Poinsotte (above, ch.4, n.52), pp.37-128, sees these omissions as an element of the pervasive antisemitism of Juvencus' poem.

Mention of the fact that the foolish virgins' lamps had gone out is unnecessary, since it may be inferred from the context.

> responderunt prudentes dicentes: ... *ite potius ad vendentes, et emite vobis*. Dum eunt emere .... (Mt 25,9-10)

> tum pergunt stultae, ut liquidum mercentur olivum.
> (Juv. IV 217)

Juvencus does not include the advice to go out and buy some oil in his version of the wise virgins' speech (214-15). It is a detail that contributes nothing to the main thread of the plot.

A century or so after Juvencus a second poet, Sedulius, undertook to versify the Gospels. By this time the need to present the Gospel message in a stylistically improved form was not so pressing. Sedulius, rather than following closely the text of a single Gospel, announces his subject as the *mirabilia divina* of Christ (*Ep. ad Mac.* I; 12.4-7; cf. *C.P.* I 23-26, *cur ego .../ clara salutiferi taceam miracula Christi?*); his work was to be in four books, taking its material from the four Gospels (*quatuor evangeliorum dicta congregans ordinavi*). The Bible's uncultivated style was no longer such an obstruction to the spread of Christianity among the educated classes. Jerome's Vulgate will have helped to still some criticisms of biblical style. More importantly, the secure status of Christianity within the Roman Empire must have deprived the controversy over the style of the Bible of much of its urgency. Educated Christians such as Jerome and Augustine might still occasionally feel that the Scriptures did not match up to the stylistic standards of the pagan classics. But even judged by those standards they were not entirely wanting. Indeed, Augustine was able to discover in the Bible many of the figures so beloved by classical rhetoric (*De Doctrina Christiana* IV). At the same time, exegesis of the Bible emphasized the wealth of meaning and instruction that could be derived from the sacred text.[7] No longer need a Christian apologize for the stylistic level of the Scriptures.

In fact, books III and IV contain most of the pure miracle stories, beginning with the wedding feast at Cana and ending with the resurrection of Lazarus and Christ's entry into Jerusalem.[8] Book II is

[7] For allegory as a stylistic virtue see Marrou, *Saint Augustin* (above, ch.2, n.81), pp.494-98. The discovery of rhetorical figures in the Bible gave rise to the theory that the Greeks derived their rhetoric from the Jewish sacred texts; Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), vol. 2, pp.526-28; Curtius, 'Zur Literarästhetik III' (above, ch.2, n.80), pp.464-65; *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.40-41.

[8] For a tabulation of the episodes treated by Sedulius, with biblical references, see Carl Ludwig Leimbach, *Ueber den christlichen Dichter Caelius Sedulius und dessen*

concerned with Christ's birth, early life and temptation and concludes with an interpretation of the Lord's Prayer (II 231-300). Book V, as a counterbalance to book II, contains the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension, as announced in the letter to Macedonius (12.5-6). All four Gospels are used by Sedulius. Book III begins with two miracles from John's Gospel (1-22), specifically designated in the Bible as Christ's first miracles,[9] but then follows the sequence of events in Matthew's Gospel up to IV 56 (Mt 21,18-21, the barren fig tree). The rest of book IV is taken up with miracle stories from the other three Gospels. Book II uses Luke and Matthew as primary sources, book V John, Luke and Matthew. The first book serves as a form of introduction to the *C.P.*[10] Its central section (103-219) contains a sequence of Old Testament miracles intended to demonstrate God's power over nature.

Sedulius' subject, the *miracula Christi*, necessitates a certain selectivity in his handling of the Gospels. Most of Christ's teaching is omitted; parables are totally excluded and only the Lord's Prayer is retained from the Sermon on the Mount (II 231-300). Similarly, all references to Christ's conflict with the Scribes and Pharisees are omitted. Even in Sedulius' account of the events immediately preceding the Crucifixion, Christ's accusers are hardly differentiated from the Jewish people as a whole.[11] On the other hand, the miracle stories contained in the four Gospels are, with one exception,[12] all faithfully recorded by Sedulius. The poet's claim, in the first letter to Macedonius, to have selected a few miracles from a large number available to him (*ex pluribus pauca* [sc. *mirabilia*] *conplexus*, 12.5) cannot be taken seriously. It is a familiar literary commonplace.[13]

Carmen paschale (Goslar: Brückner, 1879), pp.45-48. Leimbach, pp.5-38, and Mayr (above, n.2), pp.5-33, consider the arrangement of the *C.P.* in detail.

[9] Jo 2,11 and 4,54; Mayr, p.16.

[10] Ebert (above, ch.4, n.66), vol. 1, p.376, quoted with approval by Leimbach (above, n.8), p.6, and Mayr, p.32.

[11] Cf. V 98 *plebs execranda*, 141 *inimica cohors*, closely followed by a denunciation of the Jews as a *gens perfida* (144-51). Such polemics against the Jews were, of course, conventional in Christian literature, especially, according to Thraede, 'Untersuchungen zum Ursprung und zur Geschichte der christlichen Poesie I', *JbAC* 4 (1961), p.117, n.24, since the period of Constantine and the growth in allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament. Sedulius' simplification of the narrative serves to concentrate attention on the moral he wishes to draw, in this case the perfidy of the Jews.

[12] Jo 5,1-15, the healing of the man sick for thirty-eight years. It is difficult to see why this miracle alone should be omitted by Sedulius; cf. Mayr (above, n.2), p.21.

[13] For the literary *topos* of *pauca e multis* see Thraede, 'Untersuchungen I' (above, n.11), pp.119-27, Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), p.160. *C.P.* III 338-39, *parva loquor si facta Dei per singula curram / et speciale bonum, cum sit generale,*

Sedulius' use of it here is no doubt influenced by the similar sentiment expressed in the last verse of John's Gospel (21,25), which itself is paraphrased by Sedulius and set at the end of the *C.P.* (V 434-38).[14]

Omissions within episodes are an essential part of Sedulius' paraphrastic technique. The following will demonstrate the extent to which the Gospel narrative may be abbreviated:

> Bethaniaeque solum repetens intrarat; ibique
> Lazarus occidua tumulatus sorte iacebat
> iam quarto sine luce die claususque sepulchri
> marmore corruptum tabo exalabat odorem. (IV 271-74)

The passage cited is Sedulius' introduction to the episode of the resurrection of Lazarus. In it the poet imparts to the reader all the information he needs to understand the miracle Christ will perform. Sedulius has entirely omitted Jo 11,2-16 as superfluous to his purpose. The details he retains are derived from three distinct Gospel verses: Jo 11,1, *erat autem quidam languens Lazarus a Bethania*; 11,17, *venit itaque Iesus, et invenit eum quattuor dies iam in monumento habentem*; and 11,39, *Domine, iam fetet, quatriduanus enim est*. By retaining the geographical information of Jo 11,1, Sedulius begins the episode with an indication of place in accordance with rhetorical precepts.[15] The transposition of Jo 11,39[16] was probably suggested by the repetition in the biblical text (*quattuor dies ... quatriduanus ...*). Sedulius thereby achieves a more economical narrative. At the same time, he draws attention by periphrastic abundance to those

revolvam, does not refer to the selectivity or brevity of Sedulius' account, but to the fact that each miracle of Jesus has a significance beyond its immediate historical context (cf. Mayr, p.18). *Speciale* and *generale* are technical terms of grammatical and biblical exegesis; cf. I 355 *generaliter* and *O.P.* II 6 (202.8), 17 (221.1-2 and 224.4). For their use in Cassiodorus' Psalm commentary see Hahner (above, ch.4, n.24), p.129.

[14] Sedulius applies the evangelist's words to all who have witnessed and written about Christ's miracles. It is interesting that Sedulius incorporates the antithesis *plura ... pauca* (434-35) into his paraphrase, thus recasting the Gospel text in the form of a literary *topos* derived from classical antiquity (Curtius, p.160, n.52, identifies Virgil, *G.* II 42 and *Aen.* III 377 as points of departure for the *topos*).

[15] According to rhetorical precept a *narratio* should begin either *a persona* or *a re* (Quintilian IV 2,129-31); cf. Lausberg (above, ch.2, n.40), vol. 1, p.172, "literarisch entspricht dem *initium a re* die Einleitung der Erzählung durch Orts-, Landschafts- oder Jahreszeitbeschreibung," (actually *tempus* in any sense, including time of day: Theon, 79.3-5 Sp.). The indication of time or place may be no more than a simple *inde* (III 23, 46), *interea* (III 70, 103, V 232), *post* (III 12, IV 57, 64, 172) or *protinus* (II 220, V 182).

[16] Direct speech in the Bible, but incorporated into the narrative by Sedulius, as is often the case (see below).

details which emphasize the miraculous nature of the story: that Lazarus was dead and buried (*occidua tumulatus sorte iacebat ... claususque sepulchri marmore*) and his body was already putrefying (*corruptum tabo exalabat odorem*,[17] corresponding to *fetet*, Jo 11,39). Sedulius' omissions from the biblical original not only achieve narrative economy by the exclusion of what are from his point of view unnecessary details, but also serve to concentrate attention on the spiritual point the poet wishes to make.

Arator, like Sedulius, follows a thematic principle of selection in recasting his biblical original. Although the principle is not announced by the poet, the two books of the *Historia apostolica*[18] both centre on an apostle, Peter in the case of Book I, Paul in the case of book II. Book I follows the narrative of Acts up to Peter's miraculous release from prison by an angel (to Acts 12,13). Book II takes up the account of Paul's mission (beginning from Acts 13,1) and traces it up to the moment of Paul's arrival in Rome (28,14). The emphasis on the two major characters is enhanced by the elimination of minor figures. The speech of James concerning circumcision of the gentiles (Acts, 15,13-21) is omitted by Arator, and only Peter's speech retained (II 261ff.).[19] Of Paul's co-workers, only Silas is mentioned by the poet, and then just once (II 405). Barnabas and Timothy pass unnoticed. Evidently, a conscious process of selection is here at work. There are, indeed, only two sections of the *H.A.* which centre on figures other than Peter and Paul, the martyrdom of Stephen (I 586-623) and the episode of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch (I 672-707).[20] Each book ends on the subject of the greatness

[17] For *exhalo* used of bodily putrefaction, see *ThLL* V 2, 1403.84 - 1404.12.

[18] McKinlay, following Arntzen, gives Arator's work the title *De actibus apostolorum*, but as Ludwig Bieler points out in his review of McKinlay's edition, *Scriptorium* 9 (1955), p.167, manuscript authority is stronger for the title *Historia apostolica*. This title receives some support from the use of the word *historia* of Acts in the letters to Vigilius (20) and Parthenius (83). For a different view see Chatillon (above, ch.4, n.100), p.12, n.7. Thraede, 'Arator' (above, ch.4, n.96), p.188, remarks (quoting Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini* I 22-23): "Der Name des Werkes hat daher zu allen Zeiten Schwierigkeiten bereitet."

[19] The reference to the prophets in Arator's version of Peter's speech (II 263) appears actually to derive from the biblical speech of James (Acts 15,15-16). Only here in the second book does the narrative concern Peter. Similarly, in book I the accounts of Paul's (Saul's) conversion (I 708-753) and his participation in the martyrdom of Stephen (I 617-23) are the only narrative passages relating to Paul. For Arator's concentration on the figures of the two apostles see further G.L. Leimbach, 'Ueber den Dichter Arator', *ThS* 46,1 (1873), pp.262-63, and for the symbolic value of the number of books, corresponding to the two apostles, Thraede, 'Epos', col. 1024.

[20] As Leimbach (p.263) has noted this principle of selection is less rigidly observed in the first half of book I. The accounts of the Ascension (I 21-68), of the descent of the

of the city of Rome. Book II (1246-50) records that the two apostles, Peter and Paul, suffered martyrdom in Rome on the same day in successive years. Book I (1057-76) ends with the assertion that Rome will be safe from enemy occupation as long as it is protected by the chains that fell from Peter's hands when an angel rescued him from prison (Acts 12,7). These are the chains kept in the church of St. Peter *ad vincula*.[21] The promise that the chains would ensure Rome's safety has an obvious relevance to Rome's situation at the time of the *H.A.*'s composition and to the dangers then besetting the city.[22]

In addition to passages omitted because of Arator's decision to concentrate on the figures of the two apostles, a good deal of other material is excluded by the poet. Speeches, for instance, are prime candidates for elimination.[23] They are rarely an integral part of an episode and can thus be omitted without detriment to the continuity of the narrative. Similarly, because of a tendency he shares with Sedulius to reduce the biblical text to a series of self-contained episodes, Arator retains little of the narrative connection between episodes. This is especially evident in Arator's treatment of Paul's missionary travels. The details of Paul's itinerary preserved in Acts are either omitted by the poet or so generalized that they are no longer recognizable. The account of Paul's journey from Malta to

Holy Spirit (I 119-59) and the community of early Christians (I 211-43 and 383-416) contain no references to Peter. On the other hand, the first reference to Peter in the *H.A.* gives rise to a digression on his primacy among the disciples and his mission as fisher of men (cf. I 69-81, I 160-62 and *ad Parth.* 79-82).

[21] Where according to tradition Arator gave his public reading of the *H.A.* Chatillon (above, ch.4, n.100), pp.120-22, has suggested that the passage relating to Peter's chains was added by Arator after he learnt the site of the reading. Thraede, 'Arator' (above, ch.4, n.96), p.189, thinks the notice in the subscription may simply be an inference from the text of the *H.A.*

[22] It is probable that Arator's insistence on Peter's primacy over Paul is intended to convey to his contemporaries the message of papal supremacy over the Church (cf. Leimbach, 'Ueber den Dichter Arator' [above, n.19], pp.234 and 263-65, and Thraede, 'Arator', pp.188-89). If so, here is another instance where Arator exploits the contemporary relevance of his biblical subject.

[23] I am here thinking of lengthier speeches and not brief interchanges of dialogue. Such omissions include Acts 3,12-26 (Peter's second address to the Jews), 7,1-53 (Stephen's address to the council), 10,34-43 (Peter's words to Cornelius, summarized I 949-50), 11,5-17 (Peter's account of the conversion of Cornelius, summarized I 968-70), 15,14-21 (James' speech on the question of circumcision of gentiles), 24,2-8 (Tertullus' accusation of Paul before Felix, summarized II 1030-32), 25,14-26,31 (proceedings before Agrippa). In a number of cases the omissions may be treated as eliminations of repetitions in the biblical account (3,12-26; 11,5-17; 15,14-21). The final chapters of Acts, from the time of Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, are very much abbreviated by Arator, no doubt because of the repetitive nature of their content.

Rome is typical:[24]

> plurima quaeque legens distinctis oppida vicis
> venit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Romae. (II 1217-18)

Compare Acts 28,11-14:

> navigavimus in navi Alexandrina, quae in insula hiemaverat .... et cum venissemus Syracusas, mansimus ibi triduo. inde circumlegentes devenimus Regium: et post unum diem flante Austro, secunda die venimus Puteolos ... et sic venimus Romam.

Within episodes details are often reduced to a bare minimum, sufficient only to supply a narrative outline for the poet's interpretative reflections. Thus the story of Ananias and Sapphira (unnamed by Arator) is given in just three and a half lines:

> decidit infelix Ananias vulnere culpae
> fur census sub fraude sui. cadit impia coniunx
> supplicio percussa pari, quia crimine ab uno
> fit commune nefas .... (I 417-20)

The technique followed is that of the rhetorical figure *percursio*,[25] a summarizing style that reduces to a bare narrative outline the events to be described. It was a technique that was especially useful to those poets such as Juvencus who aspired to render the biblical text as faithfully as possible as an alternative to the outright omission of a passage. Arator's motives are rather different. His use of the summarizing style reflects the primacy in the *H.A.* of interpretation over narrative.[26] In the passage quoted the exclusion of extraneous details concentrates the reader's attention on two salient facts,

[24] Compare II 156-57, 308-10, 569. In at least one case the poet's geography seems confused (II 5-6): *Cyprum Salaminaque linquens / pergit adire Paphum* (cf. Leimbach, 'Ueber den Dichter Arator' [above, n.19], p.250).

[25] *Percursio* involves the compression of a sequence of events into a rapid, allusive narrative, containing only the most indispensable details: *Rhet. ad Her.* IV 54,68: *brevitas* (i.e. *percursio*) *est res ipsis tantummodo verbis necessariis expedita*; Aquila Romanus, *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis* 6 (24.16-18 Halm): 'Επιτροχασμός. *percursio. haec rursum figura differt a coacervatione, quod illa res universas pluresve in eundem locum confert, haec distantia plura inter se percurrens velocitate ipsa circumponit*; *Carmen de Figuris* 61 (65 Halm): Διέξοδος. *fit percursio, percurro cum singula raptim.* Lausberg (above, ch.2, n.40), vol. 1, pp.170-71 and 435-36, compares (p.171) Virgil, *Aen.* I 340-41: *longa est iniuria, longae / ambages; sed* summa sequar vestigia rerum, and notes as characteristic stylistic features parataxis, asyndeton, apposition and the extensive use of participles, all of which can be illustrated from the present passage. The repetition of the verb as first word of each sentence enhances the summarizing effect in the *H.A.*

[26] There are many examples of this figure in Juvencus; for instance I 107-12, II 301-304, III 77-82, 448-55, IV 236-40. In the *H.A.* cf. I 967-70, II 570-76, 913-17, 1018-22.

Ananias' and Sapphira's crime and their punishment. The crime is described only in the most general terms. Evidently, Arator presupposed an audience already familiar with the biblical account.[27] But by concentrating attention on the moral content of the story, the poet prepares his reader for the interpretation he wishes to place on the episode: the destructiveness of greed and the perils of attempting to deceive God.

The Old Testament poets, because of the nature of the text they had to paraphrase, made extensive use of abbreviating techniques. The problem was especially acute for the Heptateuch poet, who sought to produce a metrical equivalent of the biblical text without any thematic principle of selectivity.[28] As material for versification, the Heptateuch presented two particular kinds of problems, those arising from the structure of the biblical text and those arising from its content. Modern scholarship has established the structural complexity of the Heptateuch.[29] It is made up of a number of originally separate narrative strands, imperfectly combined into the single text we now possess. Discrepancies in style are one indication of the multiplicity of strands; repetition and even contradiction are a further consequence of the imperfect harmonizing of originally distinct elements. The biblical poet is not concerned with the reasons for such discrepancies in his original. But he is concerned with the consistency of his narrative and must therefore attempt to disguise or eliminate at least the most blatant repetitions and contradictions. Allied to this is the problem of content. The Heptateuch contains an account of the early history of the Jewish people, narrative well suited to versification. But it also includes legal and cultic material; a purported record of the earliest social and religious organization of the Israelites, as prescribed by the Lord on Mount Sinai and later by Moses, in obedience to God's command. Much of the detail was of little interest to a fifth-century Christian audience. Its repetitive, formulaic nature conflicted with contemporary literary values.[30] In

[27] Cf. Ebert (above, ch.4, n.66), vol. 1, p.516, Moricca (above, ch.4, n.57), vol. 3, pp.215-16. Passages in the *H.A.* that presuppose a knowledge of Acts are common, for instance I 25-26, 405-406, 466-67, 911, 1031, 1044-45.

[28] Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.100-102. Note especially his use of phalaecian hendecasyllables in place of biblical *cantica* (*E* 507-42, *N* 557-67, *D* 152-278).

[29] I rely for the following remarks on Otto Eissfeldt's analysis of modern research, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, trans. Peter R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp.155-267.

[30] For the legal prescriptions in the Pentateuch see Eissfeldt, pp.212-39. They, too, are made up of a number of originally distinct elements. Christian allegorical exegesis was capable of investing with significance the apparently most insignificant detail, but

addition, many of the details of everyday life presupposed in the legal texts were unfamiliar to an audience brought up in the Roman literary tradition.

The Heptateuch poet relies on the paraphrastic techniques of abbreviation and transposition to avoid the peculiar difficulties of his text. Passages that are repetitious or contain unnecessary details may be omitted.[31] Doublets are often found in the biblical text. The death of Joshua, for instance, is reported twice in the Bible (Josh. 24,29-30 and Judg. 2,8-9). The latter passage is simply omitted in the *Hept.*[32] But even within single narrative strands of the Heptateuch repetition is found. The following pair of examples will illustrate this biblical procedure and the way it is handled by the anonymous poet.

i) Gen. 41,1-24, Pharaoh's dreams. The Bible records the contents of each dream twice, first in third-person narrative (1-7) and then in Pharaoh's own words, as he describes the dreams to Joseph (17-24). The anonymous poet simply omits the second section. Its content is reduced to the single word *consultus* (*G* 1269).

ii) Gen. 44,18-24, Judah before Joseph. Judah's speech recalls Joseph's previous refusal to see the brothers again unless Benjamin should accompany them and Jacob's reluctance to agree to release Benjamin (the content of chapters 42 and 43). The speech is merely alluded to by the poet:

> Iosephumque petunt et, quae sint gesta, loquentes
> evolvunt cari confestim iussa parentis. (*G* 1412-13)

Such repetitions conflicted with contemporary literary taste and could be drastically abbreviated by the poet without damage to the sequence of narrative.

Superfluous details are excluded by the Heptateuch poet to bring into prominence the main thread of the biblical narrative. For this reason, as Herzog notes,[33] the poet excludes genealogies of

the Heptateuch poet makes no use of its resources. His poem is addressed to an audience more receptive to conventional literary values than to the minutiae of Christian exegesis.

[31] I omit from consideration here the supposed lacunas in the *Hept.* text. Some of them can be explained as intentional omissions on the part of the poet, but there remains a residue of passages that must be explained by the hypothesis of a lacuna (Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.131, n.290 and p.146, n.354).

[32] See Eissfeldt (above, n.29), pp.253-55. For similar doublets eliminated by the poet see Gen. 6,17-21; 7,8-10; 21,5-7; 30,5-17 (cf. 35,25-26, *G* 1095-97; Herzog, pp.127-28); 43,8-10; Num. 11,7-9, 18-19 and 31-34.

[33] Herzog, pp.127-28, with documentation. Genealogies are omitted at *G* 365, 386, 402, 754, 779, 784, 1112.

secondary figures, but retains those of the main patriarchs. For this reason, too, secondary episodes are subject to more drastic reduction than the main elements in the narrative.[34] The quest for a wife for Isaac (Gen. 24; *G* 761-79) and Jacob's experiences in the household of Laban (Gen. 29-31, *G* 935-1010) are both told with scant narrative detail. Isaac's first greeting of Rebecca (Gen. 24,61-67) is described in the following words:

> iamque iter emensos prospectat comminus Isac,
> quem Rebecca videns dorso defluxit ab alto
> obstipumque caput tenui velamine condit.
> iunguntur taciti dominoque auctore laetantur. (*G* 776-79)

The end-stopped lines enhance the impression of rapid, summary narrative. A number of circumstantial details are omitted by the poet. Place of meeting[35] (Gen. 24,62) and mode of transportation[36] (Gen. 24,63 and 64; but cf. *dorso . . . ab alto*, 777) are both omitted, as well as the details that the new bride was led into Sarah's tent and was a consolation to Isaac for the death of his mother (24,67). Secondary characters are excluded in order to concentrate the reader's attention on the couple, Rebecca and Isaac. Thus Rebecca's question to Abraham's servant, which enables her to recognize her future husband (24,64-65) and the servant's report to Isaac (24,66) are omitted. The passage loses thereby in logical consistency (the reader is not expected to ask how Rebecca could recognize Isaac whom she had never seen before), but gains in narrative immediacy. Moreover, by his selection of details to be retained and by the manner in which these details are described the Heptateuch poet gives a quite different turn to the biblical text. The meeting and subsequent marriage of Isaac and Rebecca are idealized; it is a union literally made in heaven (*dominoque auctore*, 779). Details are selected from the biblical

[34] This consideration applies with more force to Genesis than to the other books of the Heptateuch. The narrative in Genesis is more diffuse than in the other two primarily narrative books, Joshua and Judges. The poet's treatment of the episode of Esau's birthright is a case in point (*G* 874-99; Gen. 27,5-46). The account is very summary, giving only the bare outlines of the story. In particular, Esau's request for a benediction (Gen. 27,32-36) and the benediction finally granted him (Gen. 27,39-40) are entirely omitted. The poet's attention is concentrated on Jacob. For the same reason the poet omits Esau's marriage (Gen. 28,6-9). Similarly, the episodes of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38,1-26) and Jacob's benediction (Gen. 49,2-27) are excluded, though in the latter case the content of the benediction is summarized briefly (*G* 1480-82).

[35] For the omission of geographical details compare *G* 411, 488-89, 681, 720, 1092, *Jo* 109, 274, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.126, n.273. The poet's more usual procedure is to retain the geographical details of the biblical text.

[36] Cf. Herzog, p.128, for the Heptateuch poet's avoidance of oriental colouring.

narrative that contribute to this impression. The poet's insistence on the ethical content of the narrative culminates in the final verse of the passage (*iunguntur taciti dominoque auctore laetantur*). The temptation is resisted to employ conventional poetic periphrases for marriage, as found elsewhere in the poem.[37] The edifying conclusion of the narrative is first expressed literally (*iunguntur taciti*) and then, by the figure of *interpretatio*, in the language of popular piety (*dominoque auctore laetantur*).[38] Even the adjective *taciti*, which receives no support in the biblical text, is more than just ornamental. It is used elsewhere in the *Hept.* to imply a particularly deeply felt emotion that cannot adequately be expressed in words.[39]

The moralizing bias of this passage is typical of the Heptateuch poet. It does not depend on specifically Christian doctrine, but on universal ethical notions. Equally typical of the poet is the poetic turn given to the passage. Peiper, *ad loc.*, notes reminiscences of pagan poetry in each of the first three lines (776-78): *iamque iter emensos* recalls Virgil, *Aen.* VII 160 (*iamque iter emensi*) and XI 244 (*atque iter emensi*); *dorso defluxit ab alto* Virgil, *Aen.* XI 501 (*ad terram defluxit equis*); and *obstipum caput* the same phrase in Horace (*Sat.* II 5,92) and Persius (III 80). The poet has converted the circumstantial biblical narrative into a poetically refined moral tale.[40]

The elimination of extraneous detail is a principle which can be readily applied to the narrative sections of the Heptateuch; but it is not applicable to the legal passages. The laws handed down to Moses on Mount Sinai and Moses' address to the children of Israel before they enter the Promised Land (Deuteronomy 1-30) interrupt the narrative flow and might therefore legitimately be eliminated *en masse*. But, as noted already, the anonymous poet aspires to produce a metrical version of the whole Heptateuch text, not merely its narrative sections. The abbreviation of unpromising legal and cultic material is consistent with such an aspiration, their wholesale elimination is not. In fact, the poet uses a number of techniques to indicate the content of such passages without retaining every detail.

[37] *G* 691-92, 953, *E* 1307, *L* 115, 203, 216-17, *D* 83, 88, *Jo* 446, *Ju* 28, 31, 134, 488, 573, 751-54.

[38] The use of the ablative of the form *domino* (*deo*) *auctore* (*volente*) to express God's acquiescence in or authorization for an action is a formula of Christian literature. Expressions of joy, often with the verbs *laetor* or *gaudeo* or their derivatives, are similarly commonplace in the literature of Christian edification.

[39] Cf. *G* 1340, 1415, *L* 156, 161, *N* 47, 62, *Jo* 133.

[40] It is proper to note here that while the emphasis on moral edification and literary refinement is typical of the Heptateuch poet, the present passage is unusually successful in uniting the two qualities.

It has already been noted that omissions from narrative sections are often indicated by a brief summary of the content of the omitted passage. This may be a single word (e.g. *consultus*, *G* 1269) or a more extensive précis (for example *Iosephumque petunt ... parentis*, *G* 1411-12, or *G* 1480-82, a summary of Jacob's benediction). The same procedure is followed when legal passages are omitted. Thus the cultic prescriptions of Exodus are summarized:

> haec inter totus sacrorum evolvitur ordo:
> peccatum quae dona levent, quaeve hostia ferro
> icta cadat sanctamque dei determinat iram.[41] (*E* 1110-12)

Anaphora (*quae ... quaeve*) and indirect questions are typical of such passages.[42] But, not content with such a summary, the poet will sometimes retain a representative section of the legal material while eliminating the rest.[43] His handling of the Jewish food laws in Lev. 11 is a case in point (*L* 28-36). The passage begins with a summary of the content of the whole chapter (28-31). Of the various classes of animals discussed in Lev. 11 only birds are listed by the poet in any detail (*L* 31-34, corresponding to Lev. 11,13-15). The passage concludes on a generalized prohibition against eating unclean flesh (*L* 35-36), applicable once more to the chapter as a whole. Alternatively, the initial section of a cultic passage may be treated in some detail, subsequent sections summarized briefly. This is true of the description of the ark of the covenant in Exod. 25 (*E* 1069-81), and of the offerings made by the twelve tribes when the altar was dedicated (*N* 127-41; Num. 7,10-89).

The poet, then, uses a number of techniques to abbreviate repetitive legal and cultic material. But it would be a mistake to conclude that all such passages are highly abbreviated. Indeed, the first extensive legal section in the Heptateuch, Exod. 20-24, is retained in its entirety by the poet. As a general rule, cultic material is

[41] The phrases *sacrorum evolvitur ordo* and *hostia ferro / icta cadat* lend a poetic quality to the passage. For *evolvere* of poetic narration see *ThLL* V 2, 1069.35ff.; for *hostia ... cadat* see Ovid, *Her.* VI 78 *hostia pro damnis concidat icta meis?* and *Pont.* II 9,26 *victima pro templo cur cadat icta Iovis?*.

[42] Cf. *E* 1085-86, *L* 1-9, 28-30, 297-305. Repetitive material of a non-legal character is also subject to abbreviation: censuses and the order of march, *N* 11-13, 20-24, 194, 743-46; lists of names and genealogies, *G* 967-68, *N* 321-23, *Jo* 402-403; distribution of land, *Jo* 420, 451. The biblical account of the Egyptian plagues (Exod. 7,8 - 12,36) contains much repetition and is extensively abbreviated by the Heptateuch poet (*E* 265-365). Summarizing passages are frequently used; the section begins with a précis of Exod. 7,8-25 (*E* 265-71), which takes the form of a tricolon, linked by anaphora (*nil ... nil ... nil*, 266-69).

[43] Cf. *E* 1087-1109, 1115-23, 1304-10, *L* 6-9.

more liable to abbreviation than ethical or criminal codes. This criterion is followed by the poet in his paraphrase of Leviticus;[44] it undoubtedly relates to the interests of his fifth-century Christian readership. Later legal or cultic material may be eliminated without notice from the *Hept*. It is then a case of eliminating repetitions. The material eliminated may bear only a generic similarity to passages already paraphrased, although often the similarity extends to detail.[45]

The *Alethia*, as we now have it, follows the narrative of the first nineteen chapters of Genesis, up to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Although Claudius Marius Victorius is less faithful to his original than the Heptateuch poet, he evidently feels bound to represent accurately the content of the biblical text. Lengthy omissions are unusual. Only genealogies are systematically excluded, but in every case the poet indicates in general terms the content of the omission. Thus the genealogy of the sons of Noah (Gen. 10) is summarized:

> sed redeo ... ad istam
> maiorum seriem. cum multiplicata creando
> cuncta Noë suboles terras implesset Eoas ... (III 210-12);

the descendants of Shem (Gen. 11,10-26) are alluded to as follows:

> donec succiduis gradibus decursa propago,
> fons et origo cui Sem clarum praestitit ortum,[46]
> in Tharan exiret. (III 319-21)

[44] Chapters 1-9, which deal with sacrificial procedure, are summarized in nine lines (*L* 1-9); 10,12-16, ritual cleanliness and uncleanliness, are treated selectively (*L* 28-107); by contrast the ethical prescriptions of chapters 18 and 19 are paraphrased in detail (*L* 114-95). Peiper supposes a lacuna after *L* 139, corresponding to Lev. 18,26 - 19,8. Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.131, n.290, believes the text is complete as we now have it. But Herzog's explanation of the omission ("Wiederholung von Opfergeboten") is not entirely satisfactory. In fact, only 19,5-8 is concerned with sacrificial offerings. 19,1-4 repeats some of the commandments of the decalogue, and therefore might appropriately be omitted, but no comparable explanation can be given for the omission of 18,26-30. The principles by which the poet selects his material are too imprecise to determine the presence or absence of a lacuna in the present passage. A more reliable criterion would be the abruptness of the transition between lines 139 and 140.

[45] E.g. Lev. 22,17-33 (sacrificial offerings), 23 (festivals), Num. 15,1-31 (sacrificial offerings), 18 (duties and privileges of Levites), 28-30 (festivals and sacral law), 35 (cities of refuge, cf. Josh. 20-21). Much of Deuteronomy is omitted as repeated sacral law.

[46] For the phrase *fons et origo* see also III 77. The periphrasis *praestitit ortum* permits the poet to draw attention to the distinction of Shem's line by the inclusion of the epithet *clarum* (cf. III 90-94, for Shem's ascendancy over his brothers). Periphrases are often used in this way to incorporate moral or spiritual detail. It is possible that the poet intends an etymological pun. The name Shem is interpreted by Augustine (*De Civ. D.* XVI 2; *CCL* 48, 498.3-5) as *nominatus*, i.e. "renowned."

In the case of the genealogy of Adam (Gen. 5), the poet not only includes such a summary statement (II 336, *horum de serie, quos continet alma propago*), but also selects for particular mention two of Adam's descendants, Enos and Enoch. The two figures are chosen for their spiritual significance, the former as the first to call on the name of God (Gen. 4,26; II 326-34), the latter because he was prematurely raised to Heaven (5,24; II 335-38). The Heptateuch poet, by contrast, enumerates all Adam's descendants, although only Enos (*G* 194-96) and Enoch (*G* 205-10) receive more than summary treatment.[47]

Less extensive omissions are occasioned by the desire to avoid repetitions or to eliminate extraneous detail. Thus in the first chapter of Genesis God's commands and the fulfilment of those commands are often expressed in similar language (cf. Gen. 1,3; 1,6-7; 1,11-12; 1,14-19). The poet prefers to avoid such repetition. The creation of the new world is described directly in third-person narrative. A verbal or participial expression is sufficient to indicate God's agency (*cogente deo*, I 57; *tremefactaque numine verbi*, I 89; *iussa est*, I 97). The names and geographical details of Genesis 14,1-9 (the battle of four kings against five) are eliminated as unnecessary by the poet. In their place the poet presents a generalized account of the two armies. Only Lot, as a protagonist in the narrative, is mentioned by name:

> interea magno circum turbante tumultu
> hostis adest avidus, varia quem dote referta
> sollicitat tellus; campis inlisa resultat
> ungula et effusis errat populator habenis.
> Loth cum rege simul portis erumpit apertis
> et vicina manus regum socia arma ferentum. (III 415-20)

The bare narrative framework is filled out with ecphrastic breadth. The poet reworks his original into a typical epic scene of battle.[48] The emphasis is on visual details, details which derive from epic tradition and not the biblical narrative.

[47] Ambrose, too, singles out Enos and Enoch for special mention among Adam's descendants, *Parad.* III 19 (*CSEL* 32,1; 227.15-19). Philo (*Abr.* 2,7-10 and 48) selects Enos and Enoch to make up the first triad of patriarchs with Noah. For Enoch in Christian Latin poetry see also Sedulius, *C.P.* I 103-106, Ausonius, *Ephem.* III 42 and Avitus IV 172-78 (in both the last two cases Enoch is compared with Elijah). Like the Heptateuch poet (*G* 377-86), Claudius Marius Victorius takes special notice of Nimrod among the descendants of the sons of Noah (III 166-69).

[48] For the parallels with pagan epic see Schenkl (*ad loc.*) and Homey (above, ch.4, n.129), p.100, n.3. The image of horsemen galloping across the plain is, of course, ultimately derived from *Aen.* VIII 595-96: *agmine facto / quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum*. On this passage as a whole see Homey, pp.98-101.

Despite their use of the paraphrastic techniques of abbreviation, neither the Heptateuch poet nor Claudius Marius Victorius was entirely successful in reducing the Old Testament text to a unified poetic treatment. As long as the poet felt himself bound to represent in some manner, however briefly, the whole of the biblical text, such difficulties were inevitable. Avitus was the first of the Old Testament poets to introduce a thematic principle of selection, the history of Christian Salvation, as embodied in the narrative of Genesis and Exodus. In this way he was able to circumvent many of the problems his predecessors had encountered.[49] Even within episodes retained in his *De spiritalis historiae gestis* (*S.H.G.*) the biblical narrative is often severely reduced. This is especially the case with passages that do not contribute directly to the main theme of the *S.H.G.*, but nevertheless had to be included to set the scene for the central episodes of the poem. Thus the first three books of the poem concentrate on the first parents, their creation, Fall and expulsion from Paradise. The initial verses of Genesis (1-23), which deal with the creation of heaven and earth, are not immediately relevant to the central theme of these books, but cannot be omitted since they provide the proper context for the creation of man. The poet, therefore, retains only what is necessary to set the narrative in its context: the separation of the waters and appearance of dry land (I 14-16; Gen. 1,9-10), the creation of night and day (I 17-19; Gen. 1,3-5), the heavenly bodies (I 20-23; Gen. 1,14-18), and plants and forests (I 24-29; Gen. 1,11-12). The creation of birds and fishes is described more fully (I 30-43), but the connecting passage that introduces the creation of man makes it clear that what precedes is viewed only as a preliminary to the central events of the book:

> ergo ubi conpletis fulserunt omnia rebus,
> ornatuque suo perfectus constitit orbis:
> tum pater omnipotens .... (I 44-46)

It is man, after all, for whom the universe is created (I 59-68) and who makes it complete (I 54).

Genesis provides the bare framework for Avitus' account of the first five days of Creation. This is filled out with poetic colouring (e.g. I 33-34)[50] and exegetic detail (I 18-19, colour made possible by light;

[49] See above, pp.101-104.

[50] *pendentes secuere vias et in aere sudo / praepetibus librant membrorum pondera pinnis*. Cf. Prudentius, *Cath.* IX 50 *pendulam ... viam*; Virgil, *Aen.* VI 899 *ille viam secat* and III 361 *praepetis pennae*; Ovid, *Met.* I 12-13 *tellus / ponderibus librata suis*; Avitus I 223 *aere sudo*, I 14 *librantis pondere verbi* and VI 14 *praepete pinna*.

40-43, sea-monsters).[51] The poet handles his original very freely. The division into days is entirely omitted, as is the description of the primal state of the universe (Gen. 1,1-2). More surprisingly, the creation of wild and domestic animals and reptiles (Gen. 1,24-25) is not specifically mentioned.[52] The poet prefers to hurry on to the creation of man. Transposition is used to bring together related material: the creation of night and day and of the heavenly bodies (I 17-23; Gen. 1,3-5 and 14-18). The passage illustrates the manner in which Avitus' individual conception of his subject affects his handling of the biblical text. His account of the first five days of Creation is severely abbreviated, thereby throwing into greater prominence the account of the creation of man that follows. Syntactic devices are used to underline this effect. The pluperfect and imperfects that begin the passage (I 14-19, *iam ... discreverat ...; iam ... monstrabat ... pingebat*) make clear the subordinate nature of the opening sections.[53] The sharp break at I 44 (*ergo ubi conpletis ...*) indicates that the preliminaries are over and the narrative proper has begun.

A similar problem confronts the poet in his account of the Israelites' Exodus from Egypt and crossing of the Red Sea (book V). His attention in this book is not confined to the Israelites' successful escape and the annihilation of the Egyptian forces. Christian exegesis extended its interpretation of the crossing of the Red Sea beyond the simple equation of the waters of the Red Sea with the waters of baptism. The Egyptians were thought to represent worldly vices that baptism washed away; Pharaoh, as the Egyptian leader, was often associated with the Devil.[54] It was, therefore, quite in accordance with the poet's soteriological theme to extend his narrative to the events that preceded the release of the Israelites. His account of the confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh (V 40-356; Exod. 5-12,

[51] For the association of colours with the coming of light see Paulinus, *C* XVIII 407-408, Prudentius, *Cath.* II,7-8, and *Ham.* 883-84, ps.-Hilary, *Met. in Gen.* 60-61 and Dracontius, *L.D.* I 122. For the strange shapes of sea monsters see *Alethia* I 116-22.

[52] At best it is alluded to in I 30-31: *protenus in taetras animalia multa figuras / surgunt et vacuum discurrunt bruta per orbem.*

[53] The use of pluperfects and imperfects at the beginning of a section of narrative (often accompanied by the word *iam*) is a frequent epic device. In this fashion the poet sets the scene before focussing in on the action he wishes to describe with a perfect or historic present; cf. Kenneth Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), pp.93-97.

[54] Above, ch.4, n.161. This interpretation is not explicit in Avitus' narrative, but the equation of the Egyptians with vices is evident in the peroration to book V (713-15). It is significant that the poet emphasizes the dark colour of Pharaoh's skin (V 76, 295; cf. 641), an appropriate attribute of the Devil.

36) permits the poet to dramatize the conflict between the forces of good and evil represented by the two protagonists and thus to prepare the way for a satisfactory resolution in the narrative of the Red Sea crossing itself. But the poet cannot launch directly into the account of the first meeting between Moses and Pharaoh. Some preliminary information is essential. Twenty-one lines (V 19-39) are devoted to setting the scene for the meeting of the two protagonists. The first passage (19-32) describes the situation of the Israelites and the hostility of Pharaoh to them. It summarizes the content of Exod. 1,7-20, omitting the details of the biblical account. The passage is unusual in the *S.H.G.* for its sober tone and absence of poetic colouring, as well as for the use of indirect speech as a method of abbreviation (V 24-27; Exod. 1,9-10 and 16).[55] The poet uses transposition to give greater force to his narrative. The remark that the more the Israelites were oppressed the more their population grew (Exod. 1,12, *quantoque opprimebant eos, tanto magis multiplicabantur, et crescebant*) is transposed to follow the account of the midwives' disobedience to Pharaoh's instructions (Exod. 1,15-20):

> quoque magis mens caeca trahit crudelia vota,
> hoc plus adcrescunt tenerae primordia gentis. (V 31-32)

The remark thus serves as a postscript to the story of the midwives and an anticipation of the content of the rest of the book. With God's protection (*persistente deo*, 30) the Israelites will prosper, however savagely they are treated. The amplifications introduced into the biblical text emphasize the cruelty of Pharaoh (*mens caeca trahit crudelia vota* corresponds to *opprimebant*, Exod. 1,12), in contrast with the vulnerability of the Israelites (*tenerae primordia gentis*). A second transposition of a detail from a later biblical passage (Exod. 5,8; cf. 5,18) draws attention to the harshness of the Israelites' lot; they were required to produce a daily quota of bricks:

> plebs oppressa diu, densi quam pondere caeni
> et laterum numeris operis mensura diurni
> adflictam saevi vexabat fraude tyranni. (V 21-23)

The amplifications emphasize the cruelty of Pharaoh (*saevi ... fraude tyranni*)[56] and the suffering of the Israelites (*pondere .../*

[55] Only here in the *S.H.G.* The only other passages in which indirect speech is used for direct speech of the biblical text are III 75 and 114-15.

[56] For *saevi ... tyranni* see Juvencus I 252 *saevumque ... tyrannum* and 267 *saeva tyranni / ... feritas* (of Herod), Sedulius, *C.P.* I 199 *saevi ... tyranni* (of Nebuchadnezzar) and II 74 *saevumque tyrannum* (of Herod), and Arator, *H.A.* I 351 *saevoque ... tyranno* (of Herod).

adflictam ... vexabat). By the end of the passage (V 32) the main outline of Avitus' characterization of Pharaoh is already drawn.

The poet's account of the burning bush (Exod. 3,2; V 33-39) effects the transition from the summary of Israel's hardships to the first meeting of Moses and Pharaoh (Exod. 5,1; V 40ff.). The miracle is presented simply as God's response to the sufferings of the Israelites. No mention is made of Moses' presence:

> viderat interea genitor de sede superna
> adflictamque manum placido prospexerat ore.
> iam sacer innocuas dederat de fomite flammas
> et rubus in rubeo viridis permanserat aestu. (V 33-36)

The sequence of pluperfects (*viderat ... prospexerat ... dederat ... permanserat*) indicates the preliminary nature of the passage. After an allegorical interpretation of the miracle (V 37-39), Moses himself is finally introduced:

> ilicet electi vates mandata ferebant,
> depromit regi cum primus talia Moyses. (V 40-41)

It is clear that Avitus presupposes his readers' knowledge of the events of Exodus. No explanation is given of the plural *electi vates* nor of the *mandata* that they must carry to Pharaoh. The juxtaposition of this passage with the miracle of the burning bush is sufficient to suggest that Moses is the person chosen by God to free the Israelites from their captivity. Mention of Moses' name is postponed until the last possible moment. It is thereby given special emphasis. With ll.40-41 the main course of the narrative begins.

Avitus' use of paraphrastic techniques of abbreviation is not limited only to the introductory sections of individual books. It is a feature of Avitus' method throughout the *S.H.G.* This is especially the case in book V, where Avitus must handle a more diffuse biblical narrative than in books I-IV. The account of the first nine plagues (Exod. 7,14 - 10,29), for instance, includes much repetition. The Heptateuch poet had abbreviated the passage considerably (*E* 265-350). Avitus, too, avoids the repetitiveness of the original. His account of the first plague (the Nile turned into blood, V 127-48) includes most of the descriptive details found in Exodus (e.g. Exod. 7,21 = V 139-41 and 144-46). Thereafter he is content with an enumeration, amplified with imaginative and poetic detail that is rarely derived directly from the biblical text.[57]

[57] Before the second plague the poet announces his intention of giving no more than a summary of the remaining plagues (V 153-54). In fact, the plagues receive by no means equal treatment. The plague of frogs (Exod. 8,1-15) occupies five lines (V 157-62), the plague of darkness (Exod. 10,21-23) twenty-one lines (V 197-217).

A second passage that requires extensive abbreviation is the series of instructions given by God to Moses for the Passover (Exod. 12,1-20 = V 231-46; the second speech of Moses to the Israelites, Exod. 12,21-27, is omitted). Avitus' interest centres not on the role the Passover played in the history of the release of the Israelites, and still less on the Hebrew cultic details the passage contains, but rather on the episode as a type of Christian Salvation. God's speech is followed in the *S.H.G.* by an interpretative expansion (V 247-59) in the form of an apostrophe to Christ that makes explicit the typological significance of the Passover.[58] The details selected for inclusion in God's speech are just those that contribute to the passage's soteriological significance:[59] the Israelites are to kill a lamb free from stain (238-39; Exod. 12,5); its blood is to be smeared on the doorposts (240-41; Exod. 12,7); this sign will ensure that they are not struck down when the hand of God passes over the land (242-46; Exod. 12,12-13). Avitus only alludes briefly to the cultic significance of God's prescriptions: *vos modo perpetuos sacrorum discite mores / cultibus et propriis mansura lege tenete* (V 231-32) = Exod. 12,14; *finierat rector* (i.e. Moses) *leges et foedera festi / paschalis mandare viris* (V 260-61), cf. Exod. 12,28. It is the typological significance of the passage that is of greatest importance for the poet.

Transposition and Conflation

The examples quoted from the *S.H.G.* illustrate how Avitus often uses transposition, the second basic mode of the paraphrase, in conjunction with abbreviation to achieve narrative economy and a more rational or effective sequence of events. Sedulius adopts a similar procedure in the introduction to the story of Lazarus, but this combination of abbreviation and transposition is most characteristic of the Old Testament epic, where it is especially useful when two

[58] For the typological significance of the Passover in Christian Latin poetry see Paulinus, *C* XXVI 35-54, and Prudentius, *Apoth.* 348-66.

[59] Lines 231-37 are introductory in nature: 231-32 draw attention to the importance of the prescriptions that are about to be given (that is, they are designed to gain the listener's attention, in the manner of a rhetorical prooemium); 233-37 put the episode in its temporal setting. The poet incorporates into the latter a learned detail on the pagan name for the month in question (V 234-35).

biblical passages in close proximity repeat or contradict each other.[60] The two biblical accounts of the creation of man (Gen. 1,26-30 and 2,4ff.) present just such a problem. All of the biblical poets except Claudius Marius Victorius use transposition to avoid this difficulty and secure a more logical sequence of events.[61] The Heptateuch poet reorganizes the narrative as follows:

G 25-28 Decision to create man (Gen. 1,26)
29-31 Creation by divine breath (Gen. 2,7)
32-39 Creation of Eve (Gen. 2,21-24)
40-41 Rest on seventh day (Gen. 2,2)
42-44 Adam's naming of living things (Gen. 2,19-20)
45-49 Admonition to "be fruitful and multiply" (Gen. 1,28).

By transposition and conflation the poet has reconciled the two apparently contradictory accounts of Gen. 1,27 (especially *masculum et feminam*) and 2,7 and 21-24. A secondary transposition of Gen. 2,19-20 brings that passage into contact with related material concerning man's domination over nature (Gen. 1,28). The poet not only achieves thereby a consistent account of the Creation, but is able to juxtapose his descriptions of the Garden of Eden and the Fall (Gen. 2,8-17 and 3,1-24; *G* 50-133).

The sequence of events in the *S.H.G.*, book I, is similar:

44-72 Decision to create man and give him mastery over nature (Gen. 1,26)
73-127 Creation from clay (Gen. 2,7)
128-43 Adam instructed to assume mastery over nature (Gen. 1,29-30)

[60] Transposition in the New Testament poets is largely within episodes. Only one passage in the *C.P.* (V 79-82 – the prediction of Peter's denial of Christ, Mt 26,33-35) has been moved from its natural place in the narrative, probably, as Mayr suggests (above, n.2), p.24, in order to avoid interrupting a sequence of events in which Judas is the centre of attention (V 26-28). Otherwise, a degree of uncertainty is evident in book V when the poet is moving from one Gospel to another, but there is no deliberate attempt to manipulate the order of the episodes.

[61] Claudius Marius Victorius quotes both biblical accounts (I 163-66 and 188ff.) and relies on exegetical tradition to reconcile the two; cf. Maurer (above, ch.4, n.128), pp.46-47, who quotes Augustine, *De Civ. D.* XIII 24 (*CCL* 48, 410.49-58) and *Gen. ad Litt.* III 22 (*CSEL* 28, 3, 1; 88.20-24) among other passages. For a discussion of the biblical poets' handling of the Creation story see K. Smolak, 'Lateinische Umdichtungen des biblischen Schöpfungsberichtes', in *Studia patristica XII: Papers Presented to the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford, 1971*, *TU* 95 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975), pp.350-60, and 'Die Stellung' (above, ch.4, n.167), pp.380-94. J.M. Evans, *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.9-25, discusses more fully the problems presented by the first three chapters of Genesis.

144-69 Creation of Eve on evening of sixth day (Gen. 1,31 and 2,21-22)
170-79 Admonition to "be fruitul and multiply" (Gen. 1,28)
180-92 Praise of marriage (Gen. 2,24)

The first account of the creation of man (Gen. 1,27) is omitted and replaced by the more detailed version of Gen. 2,7. God's instruction *crescite et multiplicamini* (Gen. 1,28) assumes its natural position after the account of the creation of Eve. It leads well into the praise of marriage, based on Gen. 2,24, which in turn introduces the ecphrastic expansion on Paradise that occupies most of the rest of the book (I 193-298). Paradise is the bridal chamber of the newlyweds:

> pro thalamo paradisus erat mundusque dabatur
> in dotem et laetis gaudebant sidera flammis. (I 191-92)

The transposition of Gen. 2,21-22, the creation of Eve, serves a number of purposes; it permits a unified account of the creation of the first parents, smoothes the transition to the description of Paradise and allows book I to conclude with the prohibition on eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 2,15-17; I 299-325), which anticipates the content of book II, the temptation of Eve and the Fall.

Finally, Dracontius, too, in his version of the Creation story (I 118-430), employs transposition and conflation to secure a preferred order and reconcile the two biblical accounts of the creation of man. The transpositions begin with day three of Creation:

149-179 Day three; dry land and vegetation (Gen. 1,9-13)
180-205 Description of Paradise (Gen. 2,9-10)
206-328 Days four to six (Gen. 1,14-25)
329-359 Creation of Adam (conflating Gen. 1,26-27 and 2,7) and his reaction to his surroundings (348-59; cf. Gen. 2,8-10)
360-401 Creation of Eve (Gen. 2,18 and 21-22)
402-415 Admonition to "be fruitful and multiply" (Gen. 1, 28-30 and 2,16-17)

We recognize the now familiar transposition of the creation of Eve and the conflation of the two versions of Adam's birth. More surprising is the inclusion of the account of Paradise in the body of the Creation story. It should be remembered, however, that Dracontius' purpose in including a paraphrase of the Creation story in the *De Laudibus Dei* is to demonstrate God's bounty in creating the universe for man (I 116-17). Paradise is seen as part of that universe

and, therefore, its description precedes the account of the creation of man himself. It is transposed to follow immediately after the origin of vegetation, with which it naturally coheres. Only the *Metrum in Genesim* of the other Genesis paraphrases transposes the account of Paradise into the body of the creation story in this fashion.[62] Dracontius, it should be noted, also includes brief descriptions of Paradise after the creation of Adam, its position in the biblical account (I 348-51 – as seen through the eyes of Adam), and directly before the Fall (I 449-58).

A second biblical passage that causes some embarrassment to the Old Testament poets is the account of the preparations for the Flood. There is here a good deal of repetition and some contradiction.[63] Two speeches of instruction are given by God to Noah (Gen. 6,13-21 and 7,1-4) and there are two accounts of the entry into the ark (7,5-10 and 7,13-16). The situation is further complicated by the fact that in the first speech all the animals are to enter the ark two-by-two (6,19-20), in the second only the unclean animals enter two-by-two, the rest by sevens (7,2-3). The Heptateuch poet relies largely on the omission of repetitions to secure a consistent narrative. His version contains only one passage of direct speech, corresponding to the second of the two biblical speeches (*G* 261-81 = Gen. 7,1-4); the details of the construction of the ark are incorporated directly into the narrative (*G* 250-60). Transposition is used to retain from the first speech in Genesis the injunction to take provisions into the ark (6,21, transposed to follow 7,2 = *G* 269-73). Other details from that speech, notably the conflicting instructions on the number of animals to take, are excluded.[64]

Claudius Marius Victorius, like the Heptateuch poet, reduces the biblical text to a single passage of direct speech. It begins with God's vow to destroy the evil generation now occupying the earth (Gen. 6,12 and 13; II 385-88); there follows the method of destruction, namely inundation (Gen. 6,17; II 389-93); and God's reason for saving Noah, a transposition (Gen. 7,1; II 394-400). Only

[62] In addition, only Dracontius and the *Metrum in Genesim* omit the names of the four rivers of Paradise. In the *Metrum in Genesim*, too, the description of Paradise follows immediately after the origin of vegetation (102-107); cf. Smolak, 'Die Stellung', pp.384-85, who notes the Golden Age motifs in the two poets' descriptions of Paradise.

[63] The biblical account of the Flood is made up of a number of originally separate strands; cf. Eissfeldt (above, n.29), pp.185-86.

[64] One possible exception is the phrase *natique tui nataeque* (*G* 263), coresponding to Gen. 7,1 *omnis domus tua*, which looks as though it owes something to Gen. 6,18 *ingredieris arcam tu et* filii tui, *uxor tua, et* uxores filiorum tuorum *tecum*.

then are the instructions given for the construction of the ark (Gen. 6,14-16; II 401-14) and the taking-on of provisions (Gen. 6,21; II 415-17). The whole passage follows a consistent causal sequence, indicated by the connectives *ut* + purpose clause (390), *quia ... sic* (394-97) and *igitur* (401). Claudius Marius Victorius' version is an improvement on his original in logical consistency and economy of narrative.

The second speech of God to Noah (Gen. 7,1-4) is summarized in *oratio obliqua* by the poet (II 437-44), with the exception of God's recognition of Noah's justice (7,1), which is incorporated into the previous speech. The prescriptions followed are those given in Gen. 7,2-3. The poet avoids the conflict with 6,19-20 by omitting the earlier passage, just as the Heptateuch poet had done. Transposition is also used in Claudius Marius Victorius' version of God's second speech to Noah. The command to Noah to enter the ark with his wife,[65] sons and daughters-in-law (II 439) is taken from the first biblical speech (6,18; cf. 7,7 and 13). It naturally coheres with the command to bring together into the ark representatives of all living species.

Avitus' account of the Flood is on a much larger scale than either of the two versions already discussed. As his predecessors do, he retains only one of the biblical speeches, the first (IV 227-82), but it is spoken not by God, but by the angel Gabriel;[66] his account of the entry into the ark follows at some remove (IV 395-403). The contradiction in the original is not resolved, but is at least mitigated. Gabriel instructs Noah to bring the animals into the ark in pairs (IV 262-68). The instruction to load the clean animals by sevens is transposed to form part of the account of the entry into the ark (IV 396-400). An interpretative expansion explains that the larger number is necessary to provide enough animals for a future sacrifice (IV 398-400) – an anticipation of Gen. 8,20.

hinc tantum septena dedit viventia claustro

[65] *Matrem* must presumably be understood of the mother of Noah's sons, i.e. Noah's wife; cf. Gen. 6,18 (quoted above) and *Alethia* II 519-20 *excedere claustris* / coniuge cum fida *natis nuribusque pudicis*.

[66] Gabriel is not mentioned by name, but is identified as the archangel who brought the news to Mary and Elizabeth of the impending births of Jesus and John the Baptist (IV 190-212). The poet thereby hints at the Christological interpretation of the ark: the wood of the ark prefigures the wood of the cross and Noah prefigures Christ (cf. IV 650-52; I Pet. 3,20-21); Daniélou (above, ch.4, n.161), pp.64-81, Rahner (above, ch.4, n.161), pp.149-53, Lewis (above, ch.4, n.161), pp.114 and 158-67.

ut ternis paribus servato semine salvis[67]
septima quae fuerint, sacris quandoque litentur.

The poet thereby goes some way towards accounting for the discrepancy.

The third example of transposition and conflation differs from the first two in that the biblical text (Exod. 5,1 - 7,13) involves some repetition, but no contradiction. Moses and Aaron have two audiences with Pharaoh (Exod. 5,1-4 and 7,10-13) and God gives two speeches of encouragement to Moses (6,1-8 and 7,1-5). The Heptateuch poet relies on extensive omissions to secure a consistent narrative. The whole of chapter 6 is omitted.[68] Thus the *Hept.* includes only one speech of encouragement to Moses (*E* 259-62 = Exod. 7,1-2). The two audiences of Moses and Aaron with Pharaoh are reported in a summary fashion without any use of direct speech (*E* 243-46 and 265-66). The one detail the poet wishes to preserve from the first interview, that Pharaoh did not know God (*nescio Dominum*, Exod. 5,2) is retained in indirect speech:

pergitur ad regem, caeco nil corde videntem
credentemve deo, *quem notum non fere dixit*
esse sibi. (*E* 243-45)

The characterization of Pharaoh is important for the poet's moral purpose.

Avitus is the only other Old Testament poet to handle this story. He, too, extensively reworks the biblical text:

V 40-47 Request of the Israelites to be allowed to sacrifice (Exod. 5,1)
48-66 Pharaoh's speech refusing the request and instituting reprisals against the Israelites (Exod. 5,2; 5,4; 5,8-9)
67-101 Miracle of Aaron's staff turning into serpent (Exod. 7,10-13)
102-126 God's speech of encouragement in response to despair of Moses and Aaron (Exod. 5,22 - 6,8 and 7,3-4)

The transposition of the miracle of Aaron's staff permits a more economical narrative: a single confrontation between Moses and

[67] For Avitus' use of alliteration see Losgar (above, ch.4, n.151), pp.26-27, Goelzer and Mey (above, ch.4, n.151), pp.722-24.

[68] Peiper marks a lacuna after *E* 258 and notes in his apparatus that the poet's version of Exod. 6 has dropped out. As Herzog remarks (*Bibelepik*, p.131, n.290), this is unlikely. This is just the kind of passage we should expect the *Hept.* poet to omit in accordance with normal paraphrastic method.

Aaron and Pharaoh. The two speeches of God to Moses are conflated into a single speech. In addition, Pharaoh's exchanges with Moses and Aaron (Exod. 5,2 and 5,4) and his instructions to his overseers (Exod. 5,8-9) are consolidated into a single speech, addressed to Moses and Aaron. The rearrangements introduced by Avitus into his original concentrate the reader's attention on the character of Pharaoh. He is presented in his speech to Moses and Aaron and in his reaction to the miracle of Aaron's staff as a blasphemous opponent of God and God's chosen people, and as one who, although recognizing that divine power is at work, will do everything possible to frustrate its purpose (V 48-54, 63-65, 75-81, 98-101). God's own speech, as a counterpart to Pharaoh's, promises eventual success for the Israelites; Moses and Aaron are reassured (V 124-26 – a passage that has no sanction in the original). In this manner, Avitus directs attention to the conflict between Pharaoh and the Israelites and enlists his readers' sympathies for the latter.

Repetition on a large scale may be resolved by transposition and conflation. The Hebrew stylistic practice of *parallelismus membrorum* presented a further challenge on a smaller scale to the classical virtue of *brevitas*. The poets who handled their biblical original with some freedom were able simply to retain the sense without the parallelism. But Juvencus and the Heptateuch poet, both of whom strive to remain faithful to their originals, show a broader range of strategies. Neither is consistent in his handling of *parallelismus membrorum.*

Juvencus employs a number of procedures. He occasionally will retain the parallelism.[69] More often, when the members are equivalent in sense, he will simply omit one element.[70] When there is a development in the sense between two members, he will often conflate the two elements so as to retain the sense, but resolve the form of the original.[71] Mt 5,45, part of the Sermon on the Mount, reads as follows: *patris vestri ... qui solem suum oriri iubet super bonos et malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos.* Juvencus' version (I 567-68) is briefer, yet retains the essential antithesis:

[69] E.g. II 499-500, 635-36 (with transposition of the two elements). On Juvencus' treatment of *parallelismus membrorum* in general see Widmann (above, n.2), pp.36-38, Herzog, p.112, n.232. An alternative procedure favoured by Juvencus is to retain the multiple clauses of the original, but by stylistic *variatio* resolve their formal parallelism (cf. I 538-44 = Mt 5,35-36).

[70] E.g. II 467, 499-500 (cf. Mt 10,35-36), 690-91, 773-74, IV 40-41.

[71] I 601-603, 625-27, 670-71, 699-700, II 501-503, 506-508, etc. For similar conflations not occasioned by *parallelismus membrorum* see II 559-60, III 66, IV 4, 388-89, 452.

nam genitor noster communia lumina solis[72]
communesque dedit pluvias iustisque malisque.

Iustisque malisque is a conflation of *super bonos et malos* and *super iustos et iniustos* of the original. At the same time, the polyptoton *communia ... communes* compensates for the loss of the biblical symmetry with a rhetorical figure. This is a procedure followed also by the Heptateuch poet. His handling of Genesis 3,14-15, God's curse of the serpent in the Garden of Eden, will illustrate the point:

Et dixit Dominus Deus serpenti: Quia fecisti hoc, maledictus tu
ab omnibus pecoribus, et ab omnibus bestiis quae sunt super terram:
super pectus tuum et ventrem tuum ambulabis et terram edes (1)
omnibus diebus vitae tuae.
Et inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et inter semen tuum et
semen eius: (2)
ipse tuum calcabit caput,
et tu observabis calcaneum eius. (3)

ilicet omnipotens condemnat gesta draconis
praecipiens cunctis invisum vivere monstrum,
pectore mox fuso prorepere, tum sola morsu
110 mandere, mansuro quaecumque in tempora bello
humanos inter sensus ipsumque labentem,
vertice ut abiecto pronus post crura virorum
serperet et calces, dum labens comminus instat.[73] (*G* 107-13)

Of the three instances of *parallelismus* marked in the biblical passage only the first (1) is retained by the poet; the infinitives *prorepere* and *mandere* maintain the symmetry of the original, though the latter introduces a poetic periphrasis (*morsu mandere*) for the simple *edes* of Genesis. Indeed, the balanced ablatives *pectore ... fuso : morsu*, the homoeoteleuton *prorepere ... mandere*, the alliterations *pectore / prorepere* and *morsù / mandere*, and the paronomasia *mandere, mansuro* contribute further to the symmetry. The poet not only retains the parallelism of his original, but enhances it according to the stylistic procedures of Greco-Roman rhetoric.

[72] As so often the new syntactical framework permits the incorporation of a poetic locution. *Lumina solis* is found in Virgil (*Aen.* VI 255) and Ovid (*Met.* I 135) and is common as a verse ending in Juvencus: II 167, III 16, 206 (cf. in the Heptateuch paraphrase *G* 51, 273, 306-307, 425, and *N* 729).

[73] The metrical irregularity of the *Hept.* is well illustrated by the *correptio* of the first syllable of *labentem* (111), which two lines later is scanned correctly (*labens*). For similar instances of *correptio* in thesis in the fifth foot see Becker (above, ch.4, n.124), pp.10-11, Mayor (above, ch.4, n.138), pp.l-li, Best (above, ch.4, n.124), pp.21 and 29-30, Stutzenberger (above, ch.4, n.127), pp.34-35, and Peiper, *index metricus*, pp.344-45.

The second *parallelismus* (2) is totally resolved by the poet. Its second element (*inter semen tuum et semen eius*) is reduced to an adjectival phrase (*mansuro quaecumque in tempora*). The symmetry of the original is thereby disrupted.

In the final case (3) the parallelism is again broken. A single main verb replaces the two verbs of the original, which are relegated by the poet to an adjectival phrase (*vertice ... abiecto pronus*) and subordinate clause (*dum ... instat*). But although the symmetry of the original is lost, its verbal abundance is retained through the traditional rhetorical expedient of synonymic amplification (*post crura ... et calces*). Thus out of Hebrew parallelism the poet creates classical *copia verborum*.

All three procedures are found elsewhere in the poem. Parallelism may simply be resolved, as in (2), or resolved with compensatory abundance, as in (3).[74] When the parallel clauses of the original are retained, as in (1), the poet often strives to introduce an element of *variatio* into the text. God's promise to Abraham (Gen. 12,3), *Benedicam benedicentes te, et maledicam maledicentes te*, becomes in the *Hept.*:

insuper his addam, ut, te quicumque malignis
vulnerat eloquiis, domini maledictus ab ore
tristia quaeque ferat; at qui sermone benigno
commoda denarrat, sit laeto grandior actu. (*G* 417-20)

The periphrases for *maledicere* and *benedicere* and the unequal lengths of the two antithetical members (*ut ... ferat*; *at ... actu*) break up the formal symmetry of the biblical text. The poet improves upon his original by bringing it into accordance with the stylistic preferences of Greco-Roman rhetoric.

Literal Paraphrase

A special problem that the biblical text presents for the New Testament poets is the use of citations from the Old Testament. Although Juvencus does not follow a standard procedure in such cases[75] – he may, for instance, omit a citation entirely or merely summarize its content – yet it is clear in many passages that he is

[74] Parallelism resolved: *G* 179-80, *E* 534, *D* 166-69, 232-34; parallelism resolved with compensatory abundance: *G* 358-60, 794-97, *N* 561-65, *D* 242-45 (anaphora and tricolon).

[75] Cf. Widmann (above, n.2), pp.33-34, Nestler (above, ch.4, n.52), p.61, Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.125, and Poinsotte (above, ch.4, n.52), pp.84-95.

striving to produce an unusually faithful version of the biblical text.[76] For instance, Mt 4,15-16 contains a citation from Isaiah (9,1-2)

> *terra Zabulon* et terra *Neptalim, via* maris *trans Iordanen, Galilaeae gentium populus*, qui sedebat in *tenebris*, lucem *viderunt magnam*, qui *sedebant* in regione *umbrae mortis, lux orta* est illis.

> *terra Zabulonum* et regionis *Neptala* nomen,
> et *via* trans pelagus longe *Galilaea* per arva
> *trans* et *Iordanem gentes populique tenebris*
> inclusi *magnum* lumen subitumque *videbunt*,
> *in mortisque* illis *umbra residentibus* alma
> *exoritur* fidei resplendens *luce* voluntas. (I 413-18)

The two passages show many similarities in vocabulary and construction. The phrase *via maris trans Iordanen* is expanded by the incorporation of the figure anaphora (*trans ... trans ...*) and the poetic version contains a number of periphrases (the geographical circumlocutions *regionis Neptala nomen* and *Galilaea per arva*,[77] and the instances of verbal abundance, *magnum ... subitumque* and *alma / ... fidei resplendens luce voluntas*[78]). But it is evident that the main concern of the poet in this passage was to render literally the Bible text. The reason is not far to seek. The evangelist draws a parallel between the Old Testament text cited and the events of the Gospels. The cogency of his argument depends on the letter of the prophets being fulfilled. To quote the Old Testament text in anything but a literal form would undermine the whole argument. Thus Juvencus feels bound to reflect his original more closely in such a passage than in a straightforward narrative section. A similar degree of fidelity is shown by the poet in passages of particular doctrinal

[76] I 141-42 (Mt 1,23), 276-77 (Mt 2,15), 313-20 (Lk 3,4-6), II 535-36 (Mt 11,10), 767-71 (Mt 13,14-15), 827-28 (Mt 13,35), III 144-46 (Mt 15,8), 633-35 (Mt 21,4-5), IV 637-41 (Mt 27,9-10). It is significant that many of the prophecies of Christ's life and mission are paraphrased rather literally by Juvencus. It is often possible to recognize the syntactical form of the original in such passages.

[77] For *arva* in geographical circumlocutions see III 238 and 459. The most common geographical periphrasis is with the word *oras* (*oris*): II 56, 281, 285, III 30, 195, 220, 381, IV 146; cf. Ilona Opelt, 'Die Szenerie bei Iuvencus: ein Kapitel historischer Geographie', *VChr* 29 (1975), pp.195-96. On the Hebrew proper names in this passage of Juvencus see Poinsotte (above, ch.4, n.52), p.42, n.116.

[78] The use of abstractions in periphrases is characteristic of Juvencus (Huemer's edition, pp.147-48, *index verborum*, *abstractum pro concreto*; Max Manitius [above, ch.4, n.66], p.59, n.3; Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.95-97 and 137-39) and of later Christian poetry as well as of much contemporary prose. For the collocation *alma ... luce voluntas* see I 592-94, the Lord's Prayer: *tranquillaque mundo / adveniat regnumque tuum* lux alma *reclaudat. / sic caelo ut terris fiat tua clara* voluntas.

importance, notably the Lord's Prayer and portions of the Sermon on the Mount (I 590-600, 611-24).

Both Sedulius and Arator follow Juvencus in using such literal paraphrases for biblical citations. But whereas the biblical citations found in Juvencus are derived from the Gospel text, those in the later poets are generally part of interpretative passages introduced by the poets themselves which serve to support the exegetical point. The cogency of the argument depends on the biblical passage being recognized and its relevance acknowledged; hence the literal paraphrase. In Sedulius' case such biblical texts are often cited verbatim in the *O.P.*[79] An example from the *Historia Apostolica* will illustrate the procedure, the episode of Peter's healing of a man lame from birth at "the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful" (*ad portam templi, quae dicitur Speciosa*, Acts 3,1-11). For Arator it is significant that the Jews could bring the man to the gate of the temple, but only Peter could give him the power to enter. There is an analogous relationship between the Old Testament prophecies and Christ who is their fulfilment:

> et portae qui nomen habet sic admonet ipse:
> 'Porta ego sum vobis; qui per me intrare recusat
> fur erit ille nocens.' possunt portare prophetae
> 280 ad portam, cernenda magis quam visa loquentes;
> in templum non ferre queunt; haec ianua Petro
> credita, qui Christum confessus cognita monstrat,
> non ventura sonat. (I 277-83)

Arator's interpretation of the passage is supported by a quotation from John's Gospel (lines 278-79), a contamination of Jo 10,1, *qui non intrat per ostium ... ille fur est et latro*, and 10,7 (= 10,9), *ego sum ostium*. The poet introduces no substantial changes into the wording of the Gospel,[80] but by juxtaposing the two biblical verses he both clarifies their meaning in their original context and points their relevance to the passage in Acts. Such literal, quasi-grammatical paraphrases of biblical citations often provide the framework of Arator's allegorical exegesis.[81] Their very literalness lends conviction

[79] I 143-44, 321-23, 365-68, II 43-44, 51-53, 164-65, 229-30, 267-68, IV 54-56, V 56-57, 120-22 all correspond to verbatim quotations in the *O.P.*

[80] The word *porta* is substituted for *ostium*, thus bringing the passage from John into closer agreement with Acts; the substitution of *per me* for *per ostium* (Jo 10,1) interprets Jo 10,1 in the light of 10,9; the phrase *intrare recusat* is a periphrastic variation on the simple *non intrat*.

[81] Arator generally omits biblical citations found in the text of Acts (Leimbach, 'Ueber den Dichter Arator' [above, n.19], p.237), but his version of Paul's speech at

to his arguments.

Short passages of direct speech form a second group of literal paraphrases in Sedulius. As a rule, the *C.P.* contains little direct speech. The combination of direct speech and literal paraphrase, therefore, serves to draw attention to the passages in question. They normally contain Christ's own words or words that concern the relationship between God and Christ. The *O.P.* in such cases quotes the biblical text verbatim. Sedulius makes especially effective use of literal paraphrases of direct speech in miracle episodes. Typically it is the words with which Jesus performs the cure that are paraphrased in this way (more rarely also the request by the sick person for healing).[82] The procedure can be illustrated by Sedulius' version of Christ's healing of a paralytic (Mk 2,1-12 = *C.P.* III 86-102). This is the description of the cure:

> *Surge*, ait, et proprium scapulis ad*tolle grabatum*
> *in*que *tuam* discede *domum*. nil iussa moratus,
> cui fuerat concessa salus, vestigia linquens
> tandem aliena suis laetatur vadere plantis
> vectoremque suum grata mercede revexit. (III 98-102)

The biblical text, quoted verbatim in the *O.P.*, reads *surge, tolle grabatum et vade in domum tuam* (Mk 2,11). Sedulius' desire to remain as close as possible to the original is evident. All but one of the words of Mark are retained. The additions are slight and serve as metrical fillers: *proprium* is a synonymic amplification of *tuam*, *scapulis adtolle* a periphrasis for *tolle*.

The procedure, as might be expected, is imitated by Arator,[83] although he shows a markedly greater tendency to amplify the biblical language. Peter's healing of Aeneas illustrates that point:

Antioch contains literal paraphrases of two such citations, II 115-16 (Acts 13,35 = Ps 15,10) and II 137 (Acts 13,47 = Is. 49,6 / Lk 2,32). On the other hand, a passage excluded from the 'historical' section of Arator's paraphrase as insignificant detail may be of special significance to his allegorical interpretation and be included in the interpretative section in a literal form; e.g. *H.A.* I 270 *ponitur ad portam Speciosam debilis*, corresonding to Acts 3,2 *ponebant ... ad portam ... quae dicitur Speciosa*.

[82] III 18-19, 29, IV 74, 134, 197, 284; requests for healing: III 28-29, IV 194.

[83] I 247, 253-55, 831, II 20-24, 168, 385-86, 392-93, 643-45, 646-47, 785; 385-86 and 646-47 contain the words of evil spirits. Similar short passages of direct speech are used to report the words of visions and divine commands: I 851-54, 911-12 (cf. 914), II 2-3, 314-15, 516-18. Cf. II 446-47 (Athenians' description of Paul as *seminiverbius*, Acts 17,18, paraphrased as *verborum ... sator* in *H.A.* II 447), 1055-57 (appeal to Rome and its acceptance, Acts, 25,12), 1169-71 (natives on Malta think Paul a murderer, Acts 28,4). In each case direct speech is retained for the sake of its greater immediacy.

> Et ait illi Petrus: Aeneas, sanat te Iesus Christus: *surge*, et sterne tibi. (Acts 9,34)

> '*surgens*, paralytice,' dixit
> 'vectorem compone tuum nec reddere tardes
> officium, portate diu.' (I 759-61)

The conceit that Aeneas should return the compliment and carry the bed that carried him is ultimately derived from Lk 5,25, Christ's healing of a paralytic: *confestim surgens coram illis, tulit in quo iacebat*. Sedulius had elaborated on the paradox in his version of the miracle (*C.P.* III 100-102), quoted above. Not only do the two passages share the same conceit, but the verbal reminiscence *vectoremque suum* : *vectorem ... tuum*[84] guarantees that Arator here had Sedulius' version in mind.

Modal Variation and the Handling of Speech

Most of the procedures discussed hitherto have served the purpose of reducing the biblical text to a more manageable form, in many cases in response to characteristics of the biblical original which do not accord with classical notions of narrative economy. Typically, the techniques have involved abbreviation, with or without transposition. In the case of the literal paraphrase of citations or short passages of direct speech, however, the biblical text suffers no quantitative reduction and may indeed by moderately amplified. A further paraphrastic technique that, at least in its most characteristic forms, involves a qualitative rather than quantitative alteration in the biblical text is what I shall call "modal variation."

Theon, it will be remembered, speaks of the many modes (τρόποι) of the paraphrase, and gives as examples the modes of question and prayer, which give a new cast of thought without necessarily involving any alteration in length.[85] Rhetoricians, including Theon himself in other passages in his *Progymnasmata*, give

[84] Noted by Alfred Ansorge, *De Aratore veterum poetarum Latinorum imitatore*, diss. (Breslau: Korn, 1914), p.59, who compares Lucan V 581 *vectorem non nosse tuum*. The tendency for miracles, especially miracles of healing, to become highly stylized is discussed below, pp.165-66.

[85] Above, pp.9-13.

extended lists of such modes of the sentence.[86] In so far as the modes contained an element of *ornatus* they could be included among rhetorical figures. *Exclamatio*, for instance, is recognized as a figure of thought by Quintilian,[87] others classify it as a figure of diction.[88] But the modes of the sentence never seem to have found a secure place in the body of rhetorical figures. That there persisted in late antiquity a tradition of including the modes of the sentence among rhetorical figures is evident from the following passage of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, part of his section on figures of thought:

> sententiarum species multae. aliae enim sunt indicativae, aliae sunt pronuntiativae ... aliae imperativae ... admirativae ... comparativae ... superlativae ... interrogativae ... responsivae ... deprecativae promissivae ... concessivae ... demonstrativae ... optativae ... derogativae ... quae cum exclamatione proferuntur ... exhortativae ... dehortativae ... adfirmativae ... praeceptivae ... vetativae ... negativae ... dolentis ... flentis ... admonentis, inridentis gementis, exhortativae consolativae, conmiserantis. quorum quot sunt figurae, tot in pronuntiando voces. (II 21,15-25 Lindsay)

Here is an extensive list of the modes of the sentence, which are defined as the equivalent in writing of tone of voice in speech. Fontaine[89] speculates on the sources of this passage in Isidore. One possibility not considered by him is that the theory was elaborated in connection with the exercise of the paraphrase and then incorporated

[86] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 8: οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς τρόπος τῆς ἐκφορᾶς ἁπάντων τῶν νοημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δ' ὡς πυνθανόμενοι, τὰ δ' ὡς εὐχόμενοι, τὰ δ' ὡς ἐπιτάττοντες, τὰ δ' ὡς διαποροῦντες, τὰ δ' ὡς ὑποτιθέμενοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλως πως σχηματίζοντες. Dionysius describes these τρόποι as σχηματισμοὶ τῆς λέξεως. Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 19,9 (1456b): τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἓν μέν ἐστιν εἶδος θεωρίας τὰ σχήματα τῆς λέξεως, ἃ ἐστιν εἰδέναι τῆς ὑποκριτικῆς καὶ τοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχοντος ἀρχιτεκτονικήν, οἷον τί ἐντολὴ καὶ τί εὐχὴ καὶ διήγησις καὶ ἀπειλὴ καὶ ἐρώτησις καὶ ἀπόκρισις, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον; Theon, 87.13-19 Sp.: ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰώθαμεν ἐκφέρειν τὰ πράγματα ἐνίοτε μὲν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι, ἐνίοτε δὲ ὡς πλέον τι τοῦ ἀποφαίνεσθαι ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἐνίοτε μὲν ὡς ἐρωτῶντες, ἄλλοτε δὲ ὡς πυνθαμόμενοι, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ ὡς ἐπαποροῦντες, καὶ ἄλλοτε μὲν ὡς προστάττοντες, ἄλλοτε δὲ ὑποτιθέμενοι, ποτὲ δὲ προσδιαλεγόμενοι (cf. 91.6-10 and 116.22-26 Sp.).

[87] IX 3,97.

[88] For instance, Cicero in the *De Oratore* (III 54,207) and *Orator* (39,135); cf. Quintilian IX 3,97. There was, of course, a good deal of scholarly controversy about the proper classification of figures and tropes; cf. Quintilian IX 2,102-107; 3,87-99. Celsus (Quintilian IX 2,103-104) seems to have included a number of the modes of the sentence among the *schemata*: *minas ... exhortationem ... adseverare, detrectare ... admonere ... precari, corripere.*

[89] Fontaine, *Isidore* (above, ch.2, n.81), vol. 1, pp.303-309. He quotes some parallels from the terminology of grammar and dialectic and from commentaries on the poets, as well as from earlier rhetoricians.

into a treatise on rhetorical exercises and *progymnasmata*, now lost, from which Isidore derived his information. Fontaine, on other grounds, recognizes the likely influence of lost progymnasmatic treatises on Isidore.[90] There can be no doubt that the more elementary forms of paraphrase, as practised in the schools, involved the systematic application of the modes of the sentence to a set text (cf. Sopater's Μεταποιήσεις). Here is a case where some cross-fertilization between rhetorical theory and the practice of the schools is very probable.

Modal variation, by which I mean the alteration of mode between original and paraphrase, is found almost exclusively in the New Testament poets. The technique is used sparingly by Arator,[91] but is frequent in the other two authors. In Juvencus the most common variation is the replacement of a question by direct statement of some form. The alteration produces a more forceful expression: thus *quomodo ergo implebuntur scripturae, quia sic oportet fieri?* (Mt 26,54) becomes *sed scriptura meis conplenda est debita rebus* (IV 530).[92] Otherwise, the most common modes introduced by Juvencus are the exclamatory and the interrogative.[93] For instance, Mt 9,37, *messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci*, becomes in the exclamatory mode:

> quae laetae segetes ruris per terga patescunt!
> sed rarus messor frugis superatur acervo (II 426-27)

and Mt 5,14, *non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita* is transformed in the interrogative mode into:

> nam quis praecelsis inpostam rupibus urbem
> occultare queat? (I 478-79)

[90] Ibid, pp.326-28.

[91] But the technique is used occasionally to diversify narrative sections and to give greater force to passages of direct speech. Modal variation in narrative passages: I 464-68 (exclamation), II 653-58 (exclamation), 753-56 (apostrophe), 801-802 (apostrophe), 1052 (apostrophe), 1070-71 (rhetorical question); in direct speech: I 348-49 (exclamation), 353-58 (exclamation and rhetorical question), II 102-11 (exclamation), 116-18 (question), 463-65 (question), 473-77 (exclamation), 693-97 (question), 831-32 (exclamation), 939-43 (exclamation), 1107-1109 (wish).

[92] Cf. also II 311-12, 366-67, 490-91, 575, 589-91, III 247, 510-12, IV 278-80, 295-99, 519-20. Questions are also replaced by the exclamatory mode (II 36-37), the 'admirative' mode (II 107-108, 253-55) and the imperative (IV 417). Cf. Widmann (above, n.2), pp.55-56.

[93] Exclamatory mode: II 36-37, 371-72, 426, 772, III 144, 244, IV 441-42. Interrogative mode: I 14-15, 478-79, 634-36, II 493-94, IV 678-84. Cf. also conditional for indicative (II 611-13), indicative for conditional (I 672-73 and IV 503).

Both modes have a strong emotional effect, as treatises of rhetoric recognized.[94] In at least two passages Juvencus is able to manipulate his original so as to combine the two modes. The passages concern the lack of faith of Christ's disciples (III 243-44, Mt 16,8) and the reviling of Christ on the cross by the scribes and chief priests (IV 678-84, Mt 24,42-43), both emotionally charged subjects for a Christian poet. Juvencus uses the procedures of the paraphrase to give expression to that emotion.

Sedulius follows Juvencus' example and uses modal variation to enhance the affective force of the biblical narrative. He especially favours the modes of exclamation, apostrophe and rhetorical question.[95] Thus in the episode of the raising of Lazarus the modes of apostrophe and rhetorical question are combined:

> quid credere, Martha, moraris?
> quidve, Maria, gemis? Christum dubitatis, an unum
> possit ab infernis hominem revocare cavernis,
> qui dabit innumeras post funera surgere turbas? (IV 279-82)

Sedulius has abstracted two details from the biblical narrative, Martha's hesitation to believe in Christ's power to raise Lazarus (Jo 11,21-27 and 39-40) and Mary's grief, which he also interprets as evidence of lack of faith (Jo 11,33). The details are not simply integrated into the third-person narrative, in accordance with Sedulius' usual procedure, but rather by modal variation they take the form of rhetorical questions addressed to the sisters. The device dramatically draws attention to the sisters' hesitant faith, thus preparing the way for the final rhetorical question which emphasizes the folly of doubting Christ's power. The antithesis *unum ... hominem* : *innumeras ... turbas* underscores the irrationality of the sisters' doubts.

One form of modal variation was of particular use to poets

[94] Quintilian IX 3,97: *exclamatio quam sententiae* (sc. *figuram*) *potius puto* (adfectus enim est); IX 2,7-8: *figuratum* (sc. *schema interrogandi*) *autem quotiens non sciscitandi gratia adsumitur, sed instandi: ... 'quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?' et 'patere tua consilia non sentis?' et totus denique hic locus* (Cicero, *Cat.* I 1). quanto enim magis ardet *quam si diceretur 'diu abuteris patientia nostra,' et 'patent tua consilia.'*

[95] Exclamation: II 54-62, 208-14, V 94-98, 156-60; rhetorical question: III 285; apostrophe: IV 106-108, 142-45, V 303-309; rhetorical question and apostrophe: IV 304-308, V 59-66, 152-55, 157-63. For apostrophe as a means to arouse *pathos* see Lausberg (above, ch.2, n.40), vol. 1, pp.377-78; for the frequent combination of apostrophe and rhetorical question, Lausberg, pp.379-80; for apostrophe as a paraphrastic mode cf. Sopater's Μεταποιήσεις (513.2 - 514.1 Glöckner).

of both the New and Old Testaments, the alternation between direct and indirect speech.[96] The numerous short speeches and brief interchanges of dialogue found in the Gospels and Heptateuch were ill suited for versification.[97] If paraphrased literally, they tended to fragment the epic narrative. Moreover, the constant repetition of verbs of saying offended the poet's sense of *brevitas*. A solution that is often adopted by Juvencus is to replace the direct speech of the Gospels by indirect speech. In this way the content is more smoothly incorporated into the narrative and redundancies are eliminated.[98] Juvencus' version of the plea of the mother of John and James that her sons be allowed to sit on the right and left of Christ in heaven will illustrate this:

> tunc accessit ad eum mater filiorum Zebedei cum filiis suis adorans et petens aliquid ab eo. ipse autem dixit ei: quid vis? ait et illa: dic, ut sedeant hi duo fili mei unus ad dexteram tuam et unus ad sinistram in regno tuo. respondens autem Iesus dixit illis: nescitis, quid petatis; potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum? dicunt ei: possumus. (Mt 20,20-22)

> hic tum Zebedei coniunx submissa rogabat,
> ut Christo medio caeli sublimis in arce
> felices nati dextra laevaque sederent.
> tum quaerit Christus, calicem si sumere possent,
> quem sibi praeceptis instaret sumere patris.
> respondent se posse simul ... (III 590-95)

Juvencus' version is appreciably shorter than the Gospel text, despite a number of periphrastic expansions (*submissa rogabat*, *caeli sublimis in arce*, *praeceptis instaret sumere patris*). Its brevity and the impression of rapidity created by the use of indirect discourse throw into relief Christ's answer (595-99), which is in direct speech:

> tum talia Christus:
> 'vos nostrum calicem fas est potare, sed altis
> sedibus aequali mecum considere honore

[96] The examples of the paraphrase quoted by Theon include alternation between direct and indirect speech (63.15-25 Sp.).

[97] For the avoidance of dialogue in post-Homeric epic see Richard Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915), pp.404-409, George Wicker Elderkin, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Greek Epic*, diss. (Baltimore: Furst, 1906), pp.40-42, and Herberg Cannon Lipscomb, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Roman Epic*, diss. (Baltimore: Furst, 1909), pp.26-30.

[98] For Juvencus' use of indirect speech see Widmann (above, n.2), pp.51-54, Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.128-30. The reverse case, the replacement of indirect speech in the Bible by direct speech in Juvencus, occurs only once (III 288-95).

non hoc nostra dabit cuiquam pro munere virtus.
haec certis genitor sublimia dona reservat.'

A similar effect is achieved by the Heptateuch poet in his account of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. God's curses of the serpent, Eve and Adam (Gen. 3,14-19) are consolidated into a single speech by the poet; but whereas the curses of the serpent and Eve are in indirect speech (*G* 107-16), that of Adam, which the poet wishes to emphasize, is in direct speech (*G* 117-25).[99]

Sedulius makes little use of direct speech, at least by the standards of the other biblical poets. What there is is in short snatches, often, as already noted, the words of healing in miracle episodes. The only extended dialogue is that between the Devil and Christ in the episode of the temptation in the wilderness (II 175-219). Here direct speech serves to throw into relief the futility of tempting the Lord of heaven and earth with promises of earthly power and glory (cf. II 180-83, 190-95, 208-14). More often passages of direct speech in the Gospels are simply omitted by Sedulius. In many cases they are part of Christ's teaching and therefore not relevant to Sedulius' subject. The story of the Samaritan woman at the well is one episode retained by Sedulius (IV 222-32) that in its biblical form contains a good deal of direct speech (Jo 4,5-26). It is instructive to see how Sedulius handles the narrative:

praeteriensque viae Dominus loca Samaritanae
humanam flagrante sitim collegerat aestu,
fonsque perennis aquae, modicam desiderat undam,
ut biberet qua corpus erat. tunc accola gentis
stans mulier, parvum puteo quae traxerat haustum,
cum dare cunctatur perituraе munera lymphae,
agnoscens propriam numeroso coniuge vitam,
orat inexhausti tribui sibi dona fluenti,
aeternam positura sitim .... (IV 222-30)

The interchange between Christ and the Samaritan woman is entirely lost in Sedulius' version. Sedulius' account concentrates on the spiritual lesson of the story, the antithesis between the living water offered by Christ and the water of the well. Only details that contribute to this lesson are retained by the poet. A sequence of short speeches would only distract attention from the point being made. Instead, Sedulius incorporates the essential details into his narrative,

[99] For similar alternations of indirect and direct speech (the indirect speech is always first) see *G* 818-23, 1153-57, 1227-34, *E* 205-11, *Ju* 492-500, 501-504; for examples in pagan epic see Lipscomb (above, n.97), pp.22-23.

either directly (*fonsque perennis aquae*, 224, coresonds to Jo 4,13; 227 summarizes Jo 4,9-12; 228 corresponds to Jo 4,16-19) or by the use of indirect speech (229-30 corresponds to Jo 4,15). In the present passage transposition also contributes to the overriding spiritual lesson the poet wishes to impart. By placing the woman's request for living water after her admission of her unconventional marital arrangements, Sedulius not only draws attention to the former by transferring it to a more conspicuous position but also implies that the woman's request for *inexhausti ... dona fluenti* was a consequence of her recognition of her own sinfulness. Thus, as is often the case, Sedulius employs paraphrastic techniques to make a spiritual point.

In the *Hept.* and *Alethia* direct speech is regularly eliminated and any essential material is incorporated into the narrative either directly or by the use of indirect speech. Only the *S.H.G.* makes little use of such techniques. But the general tendency to avoid direct speech is compensated for by a persistent trend in the Old Testament epic to work up biblical speeches into rhetorically elaborated compositions, which often take little but the point at issue from the original. The poets' preference for long speeches of some rhetorical complexity is characteristic of late epic.[100] This preference is already evident in the *Hept.*, where a series of laments uttered by the Israelites in their march out of Egypt is the subject of extensive elaboration (*E* 440-56, 579-97, *N* 343-70). In the *Alethia* the tendency is still more marked. It is typical of the poet to consolidate two or more short speeches into a single longer speech. Such developed speeches may incorporate the words of secondary characters or narrative details from the biblical text.[101] The most rhetorically elaborated speech, and the one that departs furthest from the biblical text, is that of the inhabitants of the land of Shinar urging the construction of the tower of Babel (III 216-37; Gen. 11,4). Introductory remarks prefaced by the poet to the speech of the inhabitants of Shinar make it clear that the speech is to be understood as a lament (*Alethia* III 211-15). Such remarks preface a number of speeches in the *Alethia* and the *Hept.*[102]

[100] Cameron (above, ch.4, n.19), pp.266-68, notes the tendency in epic towards fewer, but longer, speeches. A rhetorically well-developed speech was considered an ornament to a work of literature.

[101] Conflation of speeches: I 498-519, III 17-59, 472-85 (God's promise to Abraham, incorporating part of Abraham's response), 495-511 (again incorporating Abraham's response, III 499 / Gen. 15,8), 532-44; incorporation of narrative details into speeches: III 505-10, 613-14 (cf. 650, incorporated into indirect speech).

[102] Nestler (above, ch.4, n.52), p.54, n.114, notes that it was traditional in Greek epic

They typically contain a preview of the content of the speech, often accompanied by a description of the mental state of the speaker. In many cases the speech takes on the character of an ethopoeia; it is designed to reveal the character and emotions of its speaker – in the present case the emotions that resulted in the building of the tower of Babel.

The rhetorically developed speech plays a still larger role in the *S.H.G.* Speeches are an important part of Avitus' overall poetic conception. They serve to articulate the narrative and dramatize its basic themes. Speeches emphasize the relationship of man to nature in book I (52-72 and 133-43), the wickedness of Noah's generation and the promise of a new generation after the Flood in book IV (145-64 and 600-17) and the oppression of the Israelites by the Egyptians in book V (48-66, 472-96). Books II and III, devoted to the temptation, Fall and God's judgement on the first parents, naturally rely heavily on direct speech (II 145-60, 169-82, 185-203, 242-51; III 77-89, 98-193). Like Claudius Marius Victorius (*Alethia* II 42-89 and 95-99), Avitus goes so far as to include speeches that have no sanction in his original.[103] The majority are in book II and serve to characterize the Devil (II 42-44, 89-116, 412-21) or the effect of the Devil's arts (II 242-51, Eve's speech of persuasion to Adam to taste the forbidden apple). In book V (620-35) Avitus imagines a speech by a member of the Egyptian army who, moved by fear of the miracle that he sees before him, urges that the Egyptian forces should not tempt fortune by entering the dry bed of the Red Sea; a god, he warns, must be aiding the enemy (V 620-21 and 630-31).[104] The speech not only amplifies the miracle, but also throws into contrast the attitude of Pharaoh. He is presented throughout as scorning things divine (unlike the anonymous soldier). His *furor* (644) leads him to march into the Red Sea and on to his destruction. Only when it is too late does he recognize the folly of challenging heaven (V 671-75).[105] In

to preface to a speech at least one line of introduction. For examples in the *Hept.* see *E* 440, 578-79, *N* 341-42.

[103] In addition to the speeches mentioned in the text: IV 287-92 (Noah's pious reaction to the message of Gabriel) and V 605-608. For Avitus' use of dramatic monologues and dialogues see Moricca (above, ch.4, n.157), vol. 3, pp.152-53.

[104] The introduction of a fictitious speaker with the formula *hic aliquis, aliquis dicat*, etc., was a recognized technique of the ethopoeia (cf. V 618-19 *atque aliquis ... sic forte locutus*); Quintilian IX 2,36 *est et incerta persona ficta oratio: 'hic aliquis' et 'dicat aliquis.'*

[105] Pharaoh's speech elaborates (by synonymic amplification and *interpretatio*) one attributed to the Egyptians as a whole in Exodus (14,25). The simple exchange of speakers permits Avitus to bring his characterization of Pharaoh to a morally satisfying conclusion.

fact, speeches in the *S.H.G.* usually serve the purposes of characterization and psychological dramatization rather than simple persuasion; that is, they fall into the category of ethopoeiae. Even those which contain a strong element of persuasion contribute to the characterization of Avitus' protagonists.[106] Thus the Devil's speech of temptation to Eve (II 145-60) reveals both the cunning of the speaker and the susceptibility to flattery of his addressee. Avitus' powers of characterization are given fullest rein when describing the villains of his poem, the Devil and Pharaoh.[107] In each case ethopoeiae contribute to the character portrayal.

The handling of direct speech in the Old Testament paraphrase follows a clear line of development. Dracontius' *De Laudibus Dei* falls outside this continuity. The poet includes little direct speech in his Genesis paraphrase. Only two passages are retained by the poet: I 361-62, corresponding to Gen. 2,18, and I 404-15, a conflation of Gen. 1,28-30 and 2,16-17. The rhetorically elaborated speech is, indeed, absent from the *L.D.* as a whole. Direct speech of the original is either omitted by the poet or its content incorporated in summary form into the narrative (I 496-98, 533-36, 549-53). The biblical dialogue between the serpent and Eve (Gen. 3,1-6), a passage extensively elaborated by Avitus, is reduced to a simple statement of the temptation and Fall:

> (serpens) coniugis aures
> adgreditur sub voce pia, sermone maligno
> insidiosus adit heu mollia corda puellae:
> ingerit ore cibos crudeli funere plenos. (I 469-72)

[106] Moses' speech of consolation and encouragement to the Israelites before the Red Sea (V 558-74) puts less emphasis on the character of the speaker than many of the speeches in the *S.H.G.* It is, however, a copybook ethopoeia on the subject τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ... στρατηγὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους (Theon, *Prog.* 10; 115.14-16 Sp.). The speech is arranged according to the three divisions of time, past (V 561-64), present (565-68) and future (569-74), as Hermogenes (*Prog.* 9) recommends (ἡ δὲ ἐργασία [sc. τῆς ἠθοποιΐας] κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους πρόεισι 21.19 Rabe). God's speech of consolation and encouragement to Moses and Aaron, V 108-23, shows a similar, though less schematic, development. Both speeches are introduced by the verb *solari* (V 107 and 557).

[107] The same tendency is evident in the *Alethia* (III 216-37, the tower of Babel) and the *H.A.* (II 693-710, speech of the silversmith Demetrius). I have not discussed Arator's handling of direct speech in the text, because of the rather different nature of the biblical original. Acts contains fewer short speeches or snatches of dialogue than the Gospels or early books of the Old Testament. More typical are longer speeches, better suited for versification. Many of these are omitted by the poet, but I count fourteen cases where the speech is retained, often rhetorically elaborated: I 83-102, 164-201, 297-301, 338-69, 635-42, II 43-81 and 98-130 (both part of the same speech in Acts), 177-97, 262-73, 455-81, 693-710, 831-79, 924-48, 1033-47, 1107-23.

The poet proceeds by *interpretatio* (469-71), antithesis (*voce pia, sermone maligno*; *insidiosus ... mollia corda puellae*) and adjectival phrase (*crudeli funere plenos*) to draw attention to the moral content of the passage. The arguments used by the serpent are, however, omitted. When it is remembered that Christian exegesis traditionally drew a parallel between Eve, who was responsible for Original Sin, and Mary, who redeemed the fault of the first woman by giving birth to Christ,[108] Dracontius' emphasis on the word (*sermo*) of the serpent/Devil entering through Eve's ears (*coniugis aures*) takes on added significance. Dracontius attributes the impregnation of Mary to the word (*sermo/verbum*, II 61 and 89) implanting God in her womb through the ear:[109]

> qualiter aure deus, verbo fetante marito,
> virgineos intrasse sinus dignatur et alvum. (II 89-90)

Although no explicit parallel is drawn between Eve and Mary, by lingering over the detail of the entry of the word through the ear Dracontius implies a typological relationship between the two figures.

Periphrasis, Synonymic Amplification and *Interpretatio*

Two of the basic modes of the paraphrase, abbreviation and transposition, have now been discussed, along with modal variation, a procedure that involves no necessary quantitative alteration of the original. The third mode is amplification, the quantitative expansion of the base text. We shall see in the next chapter that paraphrastic theory was hospitable to quite extensive departures from the original (the rhetorically elaborated speeches of Old Testament epic are a case in point). But for the time being only those expansions will be considered which most nearly conform to the sense of the original. In order to amplify a text without changing its sense – and here I use "sense" in its narrowest interpretation – the same thing must

[108] Cf. Sedulius, *C.P.* II 30-34, Arator, *H.A.* I 57-60 and 64-68 and Daniélou (above, ch.4, n.161), pp.32-35.

[109] Cf. ps.-Augustine, *Appendix ad Sermones* 123 (*PL* 39, 1990-91); Langlois, 'Dracontius' (above, ch.4, n.158), col. 259; and Carl Weymann, 'Ein römischer Dichter in Afrika zur Zeit der Vandalenherrschaft', in *Beiträge* (above, ch.4, n.52), p.156. The ps.-Augustinian sermon draws the parallel between Eve and Mary, *Appendix* 123 (*PL* 39, 1990-91), *et quoniam diabolus per serpentem Evae locutus, per Evae aures mundo intulit mortem; Deus per angelum ad Mariam protulit verbum, et cunctis saeculis vitam effudit, angelus sermonem eiecit, et Christum virgo concepit.*

inevitably be said twice; that is, some form of synonymy must be used. Every student of rhetoric was expected to have at his command a stock of synonyms on which to draw as the occasion demanded. Quintilian records that in his day some speakers went so far as to memorize lists of synonyms (X 1,7). He does not endorse this practice himself, preferring reading as a means of acquiring a wide vocabulary, but in the following century Fronto recommends the collection of synonyms and exercises in their use.[110] Classical rhetoricians had warned that redundancy of expression (pleonasm) was a fault of style. But at the same time the Ciceronian tradition admired verbal abundance (*copia verborum*) as perhaps the preeminent stylistic virtue. The line between *virtus* and *vitium* was not at all clearly drawn.[111] In the post-classical period verbal abundance triumphed. Classical theory had insisted on a sense of proportion and a certain selectivity in the use of synonyms. In late antiquity, under the influence of Pliny, Apuleius and the writers of the Second Sophistic, a more uninhibited style developed.[112] This prevailing literary taste was shared by poets as well as prose writers, though in the former case it was qualified by the constraints of metre and admiration for the Virgilian model. Thus by employing the various techniques of synonymic elaboration, techniques that were dictated by the logic of paraphrastic theory, the biblical poets were also bringing their original into conformity with contemporary canons of literary taste.

[110] Fronto, *De Eloquentia* III 5 (II 76 Haines): *tum si quando tibi negotiis districto perpetuis orationis conscribundae tempus deesset, nonne te tumultuariis quibusdam et lucrativis studiorum solaciis fulciebas, synonymis colligendis, verbis interdum singularibus requirendis? ut veterum commata, ut cola, synonymorum ratione converteres, ut de volgaribus elegantia, de contaminatis nova redderes, imaginem aliquam accommodares, figuram iniceres, prisco verbo adornares, colorem vetusculum appingeres.* The variation of *cola* and *commata* by the use of synonyms is the characteristic procedure of the figure *interpretatio*. The exercises prescribed by Fronto would, therefore, be exercises in that figure. For this passage see Clarke (above, ch.2, n.2), pp.133-35, and G.M.A. Grube, *The Greek and Roman Critics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p.323. Quintilian, it should be noted, does not reject the use of synonymy, only differs as to how such a facility should be acquired (cf. X 1,8-15).

[111] For Cicero's recommendation of *copia et ubertas sententiarum et verborum* see Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), vol. 1, p.232, n.1; for the distinction between pleonasm as a *vitium* and *copia verborum* as a *virtus* of style see Quintilian VIII 3,55, *verbum omne quod neque intellectum adiuvat* neque ornatum *vitiosum dici potest*. It was not difficult to justify tautological expression as stylistic ornament. It is interesting that while Quintilian (X 5,11) recognizes *copia* (sc. *verborum*) as *one* of the basic modes of the paraphrase, by Fortunatianus' time the paraphrase is preeminently an exercise in *copia verborum* (144.12-15 Montefusco).

[112] For the influence of the so-called Asianist theories see Loyen (above, ch.4, n.47), pp.4-6 and 9-10.

Juvencus' paraphrase of the parable of the sower is particularly rich in periphrastic expansions, and will serve to illustrate many of the characteristic methods employed by the biblical poets.

> Ecce exiit seminator seminare semen suum. et cum seminat, quaedam ceciderunt secus viam et venerunt volucres et comederunt ea. quaedam autem ceciderunt in petrosa loca, ubi non habebant terram multam; et continuo exorta sunt, quia non habebant altitudinem terrae. sole autem orto aestuaverunt et, quia non habebant radicem, aruerunt. (Mt 13,3-6)

Ecce sator proprio conmendat semina ruri;
illa cadunt diversa solo sortemque locorum
740 pro virtute ferunt. nam sicubi trita viarum
sub pedibus solido densetur limite tellus,
aeriis avibus dant nudam semina praedam.
ast ubi pertenui velantur pulvere saxa,
farra quidem viridem depromunt germinis ortum:
745 sed quia nulla subest suci substantia glebis,
inserto arescunt radicum fila calore,
cunctaque mox apicum labuntur acumina leto. (II 738-47)

Perhaps most characteristic of Juvencus' use of synonymy are the expressions *radicum fila* (746) and *apicum ... acumina* (747), both constructed of near synonyms. Such "genitives of identity" are common in Juvencus, often depending on a substantive of very broad significance (in the present passage *germinis ortum*, 744, and *suci substantia*, 745).[113] They represent one of the possibilities for periphrastic expression open to the poet. Another device, not illustrated by the present passage, is the use of a modal ablative qualifying a verb to which it contributes nothing in sense. Interestingly, the procedure is explicitly censured by Quintilian:

> est et pleonasmos vitium, cum supervacuis verbis oratio oneratur: 'ego oculis meis vidi' (sat est enim 'vidi'). (VIII 3,53)
>
> Pleonasm is a fault when a speech is laden with superfluous words: 'I myself saw with my eyes' ('I saw' is enough).

[113] For this paraphrastic procedure see Wijkström (above, ch.2, n.1), pp.124-27 and 188. As Wijkström (p.188, n.1) notes, such periphrases often occasion hypallage; cf. Huemer, *index*, pp.159-60, and in the present passage *viridem ... germinis ortum*, 744. On periphrastic uses of the genitive in late Latin prose see Hahner (above, ch.4, n.24), pp.175-268, 273-74 and 282-93; J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Syntax und Stylistik*, Müller's Handbuch, vol. 2.2.2, rev. ed. Anton Szantyr (Munich: Beck, 1965), pp.63-64 and 794-95. The word *substantia* is regularly used in periphrases by Juvencus; cf. Nils Hansson, *Textkritisches zu Juvencus* (Lund: Gleerup, 1950), *index verborum*, *s.v.* For other examples in Juvencus see *index verborum*, p.173 *synonymorum coacervatio*, and p.159 *hendiadys*.

Despite Quintilian's criticism the redundant use of the modal ablative is typical of late Latin. Often, of course, the ablative is qualified by an adjective and is a circumlocution for an adverb (e.g. Juvencus I 220, *simili sermone locuta est*; cf. II 99). The biblical poets frequently exploit the expanded syntactic framework created by the periphrasis to introduce a note of Christian edification (e.g. *S.H.G.* V 34, *placido prospexerat ore*, corresponding to Exod. 2,25, *respexit*).

There are many other circumlocutions in the passage under discussion: *conmendat semina* (for *seminat*), *trita ... solido densetur limite tellus*, *depromunt ... ortum* (*exorta sunt*) and *labuntur ... leto*. Periphrases were common in Latin literature of every period, and especially so in poetry.[114] Certain recurrent human activities are particularly likely to attract periphrases – sleep, birth and death, for instance. *Labuntur ... leto* (l.747 of the present passage) is a variation on the common circumlocution for death, *oc-* (*pro-*, *sub-*, *de-*) *cumbere leto*.[115] Such periphrases were expected in a work of literary pretensions;[116] Juvencus thereby improves stylistically on his biblical original. But here, too, a specifically Christian note may be sounded. The idea of death lends itself especially well to this process because of its soteriological overtones, grounded in the antithesis between physical and spiritual death. For instance, in Juvencus' account of the raising of Lazarus the following periphrases for death are used: *mersasque atris de morte tenebris* (IV 334); *horrida non umquam continget limina mortis* (IV 353 – corresponding to Jo 11,26, *non morietur in aeternum*), and *Lazarus haut poterat durae succumbere morti* (IV 368, corresponding to Jo 11,32, *non esset mortuus frater meus*). The influence of traditional poetic language is evident in the verse endings *limina mortis* (353) and *succumbere morti* (368).[117] The

[114] Quintilian VIII 6,59-61: *pluribus autem verbis cum id quod uno aut paucioribus certe dici potest explicatur, periphrasin vocant ... interim ornatum petit solum, qui est apud poetas frequentissimus .... quidquid enim significari brevius potest et cum ornatu latius ostenditur periphrasis est, cui nomen latine datum est ... circumlocutio.* Bertil Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache*, Skrifter Utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund 29 (Lund: Gleerup, 1945), pp.67-68, notes the poetic preference for periphrases for 'kill" rather than single words.

[115] *Labuntur ... leto* is Virgilian (*Aen.* XI 818); cf. also Juvencus IV 331 (cf. 406 *prosternere leto*) and *ThLL* VII 2, 1189.73-78. For *letum* in an explicitly Christian sense see *ThLL* VII 2, 1190.75-79.

[116] This is true of prose as well as verse in late antiquity; cf. Harald Hagendahl, *Studia Ammianea*, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1921. Filosofi, språkvetenskap och historiska Vetenskaper 3, diss. (Uppsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1921), pp.100-103, where he lists twenty-nine expressions for death and thirty-five for daybreak used by Ammianus.

[117] For *limina mortis* cf. Statius, *Silv.* IV 6,104, and Lucretius VI 1208 (*limina leti*); for *succumbere morti* Virgil, *Aen.* II 62 (*occumbere morti*) and *succumbere leto* above.

adjectives *horrida* (353) and *durae* (368) are appropriate to both physical and spiritual death, but the context in the first case implies that something more than physical death is involved. Similarly the phrase *atris de morte tenebris*, with its distinctively Christian imagery of dark and light (*tenebris*)[118] and its pointed juxtaposition of *morte tenebris*, takes on a significance beyond mere physical death. The raising of Lazarus carries a soteriological connotation, the release from spiritual death, and by so doing looks forward to the account of Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection that follows in the same book.

Such poetic periphrases for death are abundant in the later poets, but without the specifically Christian turn given to them by Juvencus. More influential is his creation of a series of periphrases for recurrent Christian activities and concepts. In this way a Christian poetic idiom was developed in accordance with traditional criteria of poetic excellence. Such language was naturally most useful in the New Testament paraphrases and was imitated particularly by Arator. Juvencus is especially fond of expressions of the form *fructus*, *dona* or *praemia salutis* in miracles of healing (I 762, II 3-9, 66, 334, III 190-91, 194). The word *salutis* is particularly appropriate because of its double connotation of physical health and Christian Salvation. Its soteriological implications become more explicit in Arator's accounts of miracles of healing (I 286, *pete dona salutis*; cf. I 169). Similar periphrases are used by the Christian poets for baptism, the Incarnation[119] and the Resurrection. In many instances these

[118] For Christian light imagery see Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.139-40, and *Die allegorische Dichtkunst des Prudentius*, Zetemata 42 (Munich: Beck, 1966), pp.52-84, and Marion M. Van Assenfeldt, *Sol Ecce Surgit Igneus: A Commentary on the Morning and Evening Hymns of Prudentius (Cathemerinon 1, 2, 5 and 6)* (Groningen: Bouma, 1976), pp.29-34. The present passage should be compared with Juvencus I 128 (*mortisque tenebras*), 681 (*caligine mortis*), 758 (*caecis demersa tenebris*), II 207 (*demergis ... furvis ... tenebris*), 651-52 (*migrat ab atra / morte*), IV 257 (*tenebras dimersus ad imas*) and 734 (*e mortis ... tenebris*). The last example is particularly interesting, as it is put in the mouth of Pharisees. There is perhaps a slight inconsistency in making Christ's accusers use characteristically Christian language. For a similar inconsistency see II 292. The locution *mortisque tenebris* is also found in Claudius Marius Victorius, *Alethia* II 440.

[119] Periphrases for incarnation often involve the word *caro*, *carnis* (e.g. *C.P.* III 294, *texit ...* carnis *velamine formam*, IV 97, *velamine* carnis *opertum*, V 173, *humanae positurus tegmina* carnis, *H.A.* II 98, carnis *vestitus amictu*. This is interesting because the word is scrupulously avoided by classical poets as unpoetic; cf. Bertil Axelson (above, n.114), p.52. Here is a case where Christine Mohrmann's criticism of the Christian poets for their avoidance of specifically Christian traits of language is inapposite; cf. Mohrmann, 'La langue et le style de la poésie chrétienne', *REL* 25 (1947), pp.283-87, reprinted in *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, vol. 1 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958), pp.153-57. In the present instance the emphatic use of the unpoetic word *caro* can only underline the remarkable nature of the incarnation.

involve the reinterpretation of pagan poetic locutions in a Christian sense. Christ is said by Juvencus "to have returned to the shores of light" (*remeasse in luminis oras*, IV 761, corresponding to *surrexit*, Mt 28,7) and his promise is recalled "to come back from the darkness of death to the light of life with the third return of the sun,"

> e mortis sese tenebris ad lumina vitae
> cum trino solis pariter remeare recursu (IV 734-35),

corresponding to *post tres dies resurgam*, Mt 27,63. Both *luminis oras* and *lumina vitae* are phrases from pagan poetry which take on new meaning in their Christian context.[120] Similarly, the Virgilian line ending *fonte lavabo* is used by Sedulius (*C.P.* V 421) and Arator (I 114, II 666) of baptism.[121] The frequent references in the *H.A.* to missionary activities give rise to a further set of periphrases, for preaching.[122] Metaphorical language is used, derived from the biblical imagery of sowing and harvesting, irrigation and viticulture. Here is a typical example:

> Paulus in orbe docet verbique ligonibus omnes
> excolit et fidei cogit flavescere messem
> errorum fugiente gelu. (II 308-10)

Such generalized descriptions often replace the more detailed accounts in Acts. The metaphor is distinctively Christian although the language may contain remniscences of the pagan authors.[123]

[120] *Luminis oras* is a Lucretian phrase (I 22, 170, 179, etc.), found in Virgil (*Aen.* VII 660 and *G.* II 47) and elsewhere in Juvencus (I 106, II 342, III 486 – also in the *Alethia* II 516, and *Carm. de Res.* 8), which goes back ultimately to Ennius' *Annales* (121 and 136 Warmington). For the history of this formula see Witke (above, ch.4, n.32), pp.205-206, and Gordon Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.718-19. *Lumina vitae* is found in Virgil, *Aen.* VI 828, and elsewhere in Juvencus IV 442 and 756 (cf. II 206 and IV 345).

[121] Cf. also Prudentius, *Apoth.* 687, *Dittoch.* 132, *De Pascha* 39 (*CSEL* 3, 3, 306) *de fonte lavarent*, and, in the pagan poets, Virgil, *Ecl.* III 97 *in fonte lavabo* and *Aen.* VII 489 *in fonte lavabat*, Ovid, *Her.* XXI 177 *fonte lavari*, and Statius, *Theb.* IX 436 *fonte lavare*. For the Christian adaptation of this locution see Thraede, 'Arator' (above, ch.4, n.96), pp.193-94.

[122] Juvencus (I 419-20, III 19-20) and Sedulius (IV 234-35) use similar generalizing periphrases for preaching, though normally without the metaphorical language (but cf. Juvencus I 435-36 *sancta* serebat / *... praeconia Christus*).

[123] Pastoral imagery is also frequent: I 202, 627, 754, 999-1001, 1011, II 260, 775-81, 1150-51. Such generalized descriptions of missionary activity are used extensively during the early Middle Ages to describe Christian missionary activity in central Europe (e.g. Willibald's *Life of Boniface* and Alcuin's *Life of Willibrord*). Sowing, cultivating and reaping: I 54, 365-69, 516-18, 678-80, II 13-14, 69, 133-34, 186-89, 312-13, 447-53, 757-58, 838-39, 842-44; irrigation: II 510, 1063-65; viticulture: I 607-609, II 189-90 (both containing poetic locutions).

Juvencus' version of the parable of the sower quoted above will serve to introduce another type of amplification much practised by all the biblical poets. A simple verb of the original (*ceciderunt*) is replaced by two nearly synonymous verbal expressions, *cadunt ... solo* and *sortemque locorum ... ferunt* (II 739-40). In its simplest form this procedure, which I call synonymic amplification, involves the substitution of two or more synonyms or near synonyms for a single word of the original. The synonymic repetition may be of a noun, adjective or verb. Here are some examples:

1) *genibus plantisque* (Juvencus IV 769 = pedes)
2) *servator* iusti templique *sacerdos* (Juvencus I 2 = sacerdos)
3) commendat *oves*, commendat et *agnos* (*C.P.* V 413 = pasce agnos meos)
4) *amoris* / et *studii* documenta mei (*H.A.* II 832-33 = qualiter vobiscum ... fuerim)
5) *caput princepsque* (*S.H.G.* V 234 = principium)
6) talibus *attoniti ... stupidique* silebant (Juvencus III 527 = mirabantur valde)
7) *sublimesque magnaeque* (*N* 696 = pulchra)
8) praecipiens *varias* ... prorumpere *voces* / *diversosque sonos* (*G* 399-400 = confundamus linguam eorum)
9) *sedes* patrias *terras*que *nocentes* / *pollutamque* domum (*Alethia* III 334-35 = de terra tua ... et de domo patris tui)
10) *suspendi figique* cruci (*H.A.* II 102 = interficerent)
11) *tegunt velant*que (*G* 353 = operuerunt)
12) *repetam* vindex adeoque *requiram* (*Alethia* III 45 = requiram)
13) lenem ... *flatum profundit ab ore* / *inspiratque* (*S.H.G.* I 125-26 = inspiravit)
14) *effuge* ... victusque *evade* (*S.H.G.* V 674 = fugiamus)

Examples 1-5 are of synonymic amplification of nouns, 6-7 of adjectives, 8-9 of nouns and adjectives and 10-14 of verbs. Synonymic amplification permits the incorporation of rhetorical figures or other stylistic devices (2, chiasmus; 3, anaphora; 9, tricolon), of poetic locutions (6, *talibus attoniti*)[124] or of points of Christian interpretation or edification (2, *servator iusti*). Such verbal abundance is prized for its own sake, and is also characteristic of passages that do not rely directly on the biblical text.

The synonymic repetition of verbs creates two parallel, semantically equivalent clauses. Thus Sedulius describes the withering of a

[124] Cf. Valerius Flaccus VII 101 *talibus attonitos*.

barren fig-tree when it is cursed by Christ (Mt 21,19, *arefacta est continuo ficulnea*) as follows:

> confestim viduata suis ficulnea sucis
> aruit et siccis permansit mortua ramis. (IV 50-51)

The verb of the Gospel text (*arefacta est*) is replaced by two synonymous verbal expressions in Sedulius' paraphrase, *viduata suis ficulnea sucis* / *aruit*, and *siccis permansit mortua ramis*. The *Auctor ad Herennium* (IV 28,38) identifies this procedure as the figure *interpretatio*:[125]

> interpretatio est quae non iterans idem redintegrat verbum, sed id commutat quod positum est alio verbo quod idem valeat, hoc modo: 'Rem publicam radicitus evertisti, civitatem funditus deiecisti.' item: 'Patrem nefarie verberasti, parenti manus scelerate attulisti.'

The figure is intended to impress the reader or hearer with the importance of the point being made: *necesse est eius qui audit animum commoveri cum gravitas prioris dicti renovatur interpretatione verborum.*[126] At the same time, it contributes to the stylistic virtue of verbal abundance (*copia verborum*). It is a technique (often called theme and variation) practised by Virgil and therefore imitated by the biblical poets.[127] But it is also an essential procedure of paraphrastic amplification, involving, as it does, the alteration of language but the retention of sense. It is significant that Quintilian speaks of *congeries ... verborum ac sententiarum idem significantium*, essentially identical with *interpretatio*, as a procedure of ampli-

[125] Quintilian (IX 3,98) denies that this is a figure. Quintilian's objection is merely one of terminology. There is no question of denying the existence of such a procedure. In fact his *congeries ... verborum ac sententiarum idem significantium* (VIII 4,26-27), a form of *amplificatio*, is the same procedure. For the figure *interpretatio* see also Fuhrmann, '*Interpretatio*' (above, ch.2, n.17), p.88.

[126] For the affective force of repetition see also Cicero, *De Or.* III 53,202 (quoted by Quintilian IX 1,27): *commoratio una in re permultum movet. Interpretatio* is listed by the *Auctor ad Herennium* as a figure of diction, *commoratio* as a figure of thought, but in practice there is no essential difference between the two figures (see further Lausberg [above, ch.2, n.40], pp.415-17).

[127] For the history of this procedure and its use in Virgil see Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Teubner, 1916), pp.296-97 (on VI 638) and Williams, *Tradition and Originality* (above, n.120), p.389. The *enarratio* of Virgil in the schools of late antiquity no doubt reinforced the influence of the Virgilian model in this respect; cf. Leonid Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici: eine Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplätze als Hilfsmittel für akademische Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963), pp.23-24. Synonymic amplification of nouns is also a Virgilian practice; cf. *Aen.* I 658 (*faciem ... et ora*) and VI 11 (*mentem animumque*), both labelled *perissologia* by Servius.

fication.[128] In the Middle Ages *interpretatio*, as well as periphrasis, was included among the *modi amplificationis*.[129] This was no more than a codification of a long-standing practice of the poets and the schools.

In its simplest form *interpretatio* involves the synonymic repetition of a verb. For example, Mk 1,24, *scio qui sis, Sanctus Dei*, becomes in Sedulius' literal paraphrase:

> *scio* denique qui sis
> et sanctum *cognosco* Dei. (*C.P.* IV 86-87)

More often *interpretatio* involves the repetition of a whole clause. Thus the biblical citation (Ps. 1,4), *tamquam pulvis quam proiicit ventus a facie terrae*, becomes in the *C.P.*

> ut pulvis, quem ventus proicit ingens
> a facie terrae rapidisque volatibus actus
> spargitur in vacuas nebulis obscurior umbras. (V 56-58)

The meaning of the two relative clauses is essentially identical. The process of amplified repetition concentrates the reader's attention on the spiritual content of the passage in question. In the present passage the emotive adjectives *rapidis*, *vacuas* and *obscurior* direct the reader's response to the biblical text quoted. In a similar fashion Juvencus (III 149) replaces a simple verb *coinquinat* (Mt 15,11) with *sordibus aspergent, vitaeve animove sedebunt* in order to make the biblical moral more explicit.

The expanded syntactical framework created by *interpretatio* allows the biblical poets to emphasize a moral or spiritual lesson or to introduce a rhetorical figure, poetic locution or point of exegesis. There is no reason why the figure of *interpretatio* should be limited to two cola. Sedulius seems to have favoured the tricolon and uses the figure to obtain his preferred arrangement (e.g. *C.P.* III 30-32). The Heptateuch poet in the account of Joseph's death not only expands

[128] Above, n.125. Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), p.492 (cf. also Arbusow, p.22) would distinguish between *amplificatio* as elevation on a vertical dimension and as extension on a horizontal. He sees only the former in the present passage and thus would deny the connection with figures that involve mainly horizontal extension such as *interpretatio*. But the very inclusion of *congeries ... verborum ac sententiarum* among procedures of amplification, and the examples cited (note especially *quid cupiebas? quid optabas?*, VIII 4,27) indicate how tenuous is the distinction. According to rhetorical theory horizontal extension served the purpose of 'elevation' by giving particular prominence to an idea.

[129] Arbusow, pp.21-28. As Arbusow notes (p.23), the second clause may involve a specification of or slight change in the sense of the first clause.

the biblical *mortuus est* (Gen. 50,25) into a tricolon, but also introduces distinctively poetic language[130] and a note of Christian edification:[131]

> sic demum longae post tempora candida vitae
> decessit petiitque deum corpusque reliquit. (*G* 1497-98)

At times the opportunity to incorporate a poetic reminiscence seems to have been the main motive for the expanded syntactical structure. Sedulius paraphrases the biblical citation (Ps. 91,13) *caedrus Libani multiplicabitur*[132] thus:

> tamquam Libana cedrus
> multiplicandus adest[133] et *vertice sidera tanget*. (IV 55-56)

The second colon recalls Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VII 61, *vertice sidera tangam*.[134] It is the poetic quality of Sedulius' paraphrase that is most enhanced by the amplification.

Their manner of handling the expanded syntactical framework of *interpretatio* often indicates characteristic qualities of the biblical poets. Juvencus tends to favour the simpler forms of the figure, the duplication of verbs or verbal expressions. His handling of Mt 24,22, *nisi breviati fuissent dies illi*, is typical:

> et ni sublimis genitor decerpere tempus
> et numerum miserans vellet breviare dierum. (IV 134-35)

The kernel of the expansion is the synonymic repetition of the verb *decerpere tempus* and *numerum ... breviare dierum*. The expanded structure may be used, as here (*sublimis genitor*, *miserans*), to emphasize a spiritual point, but the spiritual point does not become the guiding principle of the expansion. Sedulius' fondness for paradox and antithesis[135] is demonstrated in his handling of the

[130] For the locution *tempora vitae* see *G* 1464, *E* 1020, *D* 74, 137, and especially *G* 178 *longae ... tempora vitae*. For the 'hysteron proteron' *petiitque deum corpusque reliquit* see *E* 412 (*veniunt ... relinquant*) and 706 and *N* 721 (*petit ... relinquit*). For a Virgilian 'hysteron proteron' also culminating in the verb *relinquunt* see *Aen.* VIII 125.

[131] In *candida* (cf. *G* 1104) and *petiitque deum* (a christianized periphrasis for death).

[132] The *O.P.* (259.3-4) cites Ps 91,13 in the form *sicut cedrus, quae in Libano est, multiplicabitur*. Even the principle of the literal paraphrase of biblical citations in the *C.P.* must give way before the opportunity to incorporate such a reminiscence.

[133] For *adesse* in the sense of *esse* see *ThLL* II 925.74-926.6, and Dag Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval*, Connaissance des langues, vol. 4 (Paris: Picard, 1968), pp.162-63.

[134] Cf. also Ausonius, *Precatio ... Prid. Kal. Ian.* 52, *tunc tangam vertice caelum*.

[135] For the combination of antithesis and paradox in Sedulius see I 160-62, 170-73, II 37-39, 39-40, 66-68, 131-32, III 126-28, 153-57, 240-41, 268-69, IV 28-30, V 262-65.

Nativity story (Lk 2,7, *reclinavit eum in praesepio*):

> puerili in corpore *plenus*
> mansit et *angusto* Deus in praesepe quievit. (II 61-62)

Here again there is synonymic repetition of the verb (*mansit ... quievit*), but the weight of the passage is on the paradoxical antithesis which furnishes a striking conclusion to the whole episode.[136] Arator makes less extensive use than Sedulius of *interpretatio*. Most examples are in miracle stories. But he too strives for paradoxical expressions. Thus in the healing of Tabitha her first sign of life (Acts 9,40, *et illa aperuit oculos suos*) becomes

> vocata redit lucique reducta
> se stupuit superesse sibi. (*H.A.* I 831-32)

The paradoxical *se stupuit superesse sibi* is emphasized by alliteration and harks back to I 806, *post funus victura suum.*[137]

The passage already cited from the *Hept.* (*G* 1497-98) is typical of that work. *Interpretatio*, apart from being a stylistic improvement in its own right, serves to point a moral or introduce distinctively poetic language. In the *Alethia* the figure serves a further function, which is characteristic of that work: to incorporate into the narrative details of Christian exegesis. *Interpretatio* becomes interpretative in the modern sense. Claudius Marius Victorius' version of God's second speech to Noah is a case in point (Gen. 7,1, *locutus est Dominus ad Noe dicens: intra tu et omnis domus tua in arcam*):

> (deus dignatur)
> voce monere Noën summum iam tempus adesse
> condere se latebris matrem natosque nurusque

In this Sedulius conforms with the literary taste of his day; cf. Loyen (above, ch.4, n.47), pp.141-42, for paradoxical metaphors and oxymora in Sidonius Apollinaris. Mayr (above, n.2), p.86, and Corsaro, *Sedulio Poeta* (above, ch.4, n.61), p.178, list oxymora in the *C.P.*

[136] For the practice of ending a *narratio* with a *sententia* see below, ch.6, n.19.

[137] McKinlay's *Indices sententiarum facetarum* include under the headings *lusus verborum et sententiarum* and *oxymora* (pp.192-95) many examples of paradox and antithesis. As in Sedulius the two figures of thought often go together. For other *paradoxa* see I 9-10, 14, 47, 56 (*statione sedebat*), 58 (combined with paronomasia, *a nato formata suo*), 174-75 (with antithesis, *vitam ... mori*), 214 (with antithesis, homoeoteleuton and isocolon), 217, 251-53, 335, 353-56 (with antithesis, *mortis ... vitam*), 473-75, 485-86, 534, 568-69, 746, 803 (*mansuras fundebat*), 832, 929 (antithesis), 1007 (antithesis), II 30-31, 32 (antithesis, *tenebris lucem*), 59-65 (with antitheses, isocola and homoeoteleuton), 184-85, 397, 509-10, 582-83, 866-67, 908 (with antithesis, cf. 900-901), 934 (antithesis), 963-65, 989, 1006-1008 (antithesis), 1159-60 (antithesis), 1188-89 (antithesis), 1205 (antithesis).

> eripere instanti exitio mortisque tenebris
> carcere vitali. (*Alethia* II 437-41)

The single verb of God's speech in the original (*intra ... in arcam*) has been elaborated to *condere se latebris* and *eripere ... carcere vitali* by the processes of *interpretatio* and synonymic amplification.[138] Synonymic amplification is also employed in the phrase *instanti exitio mortisque tenebris*. But in each case the second element in the amplification is something more than a synonym. The antithesis between life and death (*mortis ... vitali*), the Christian light imagery (*tenebris*) and the metaphorical description of the ark as a "life-giving prison" (*carcere vitali*) all point to the traditional soteriological interpretation of the Flood as the type of Christian baptism.[139] The locution *mortis tenebris* had already been used by Juvencus in a soteriological connection (I 128, IV 334 and 734). Such an interpretation is made explicit in the peroration that ends book II of the *Alethia* (especially II 557-58, *ut nunc edocuit populos sic posse necari, / ipse docebit aquis populos sic posse renasci*). Here, too, the poet employs light imagery[140] and the metaphor of the prison:

> ille animas longae perituras *carcere noctis*
> affectu *lucis* spolians virtute replevit. (II 549-50)

The poet has used the techniques of *interpretatio* and synonymic amplification to provide the syntactical framework for the Christian interpretation he wishes to incorporate into the narrative. By so doing, he is able to retain the pose of third-person narrator. By a rhetorical subterfuge (the figure of *interpretatio*) the expressions *condere se latebris* and *eripere ... vitali* are presented as syntactically and, by implication, semantically equivalent. Christian interpretation enters the biblical account under the guise of objective narration.

Finally, Avitus uses the figure of *interpretatio* in many of the traditional ways: to linger over a passage of special significance (e.g. III 110-12,

> cum miserum labens traxisti in prona maritum
> nec contenta tuo deceptrix femina casu
> sublimi sensum iecisti ex arce virilem?

[138] For the use of indirect discourse in this passage see above, pp.130-31.

[139] Above, ch.4, n.161.

[140] For light imagery elsewhere in the *Alethia* see *Prec.* 20-21, 60, III 645-46, 685-86; for the phrase *mortisque tenebris* above, n.118.

corresponding to Gen. 3,13, *quare hoc fecisti*); to introduce a poetic locution or poetic colouring (e.g. V 177-78,

> insidunt penitus turgentia vulnera membris
> et sacer incubuit percussis artubus ignis,[141]

corresponding to Exod. 9,10, *factaque sunt ulcera vesicarum turgentium in hominibus et in iumentis*); or to incorporate a point of interpretation (e.g. IV 402-403,

> tunc iustum cunctosque suos natosque nurusque
> accipit expectans claustrum *vitaeque reponit*,

corresponding to Gen. 7,7, *ingressus est Noe et filii eius, uxor eius et uxores filiorum eius ... in arcam*). More typical of the *S.H.G.*, however, (and of Dracontius' *L.D.*) are extensive amplifications which take their starting point from the biblical narrative, but owe little or nothing of their detail to the original. It is to such elaborations of the biblical text that the following chapter will be devoted.

[141] Cf. Virgil, *G.* III 566, *contactos artus sacer ignis edebat*, and for the verb *incubuit* Horace, *C.* I 3,30-31, *nova febrium / terris* incubuit *cohors*.

6

THE BIBLE AMPLIFIED
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE *NARRATIO*

A reader encountering the biblical epics for the first time will, of course, immediately recognize their reliance on the sequence of scriptural narrative. He will probably also be struck, however, by the freedom with which the later poets (Sedulius and Arator, Claudius Marius Victorius and Avitus) amplify their original. To what extent, it will be asked, can such poems be described as paraphrases of the biblical text when a guiding principle of the paraphrase was the retention of the sense of the base text? Do not such extensive amplifications contravene this rule? The answer depends on what we understand by the "sense of the text." It will be recalled that rhetorical theory typically conceived of the content of a work of literature as reducible to a meagre prose outline.[1] It was this simple "sense" which a work of literary pretensions would embellish with the techniques of literary adornment. Such techniques would include the use of tropes, figures and the full repertoire of stylistic amplification, extending to ecphrases, ethopoeiae and digressions.[2] None of these affected the bare narrative content of the literary work.

[1] See above, pp.32-36.

[2] Ecphrases and ethopoeiae could be considered figures of thought (e.g. *Rhet. ad Her.* IV 39,51 and 53, 66). All three were included among the medieval *modi amplificationis* (Arbusow [above, ch.5, n.127], pp.25-28).

It is against this standard that the elaborations introduced into the biblical text by our poets must be judged. Extensive though such amplifications may be, they do not affect the narrative thread derived from the biblical original. They were thought of as stylistic embellishments, matters of *elocutio* not *inventio*, which contributed to the effectiveness of their poems as works of literature, but did not alter the sense of the base text. Such amplifications, then, conformed to paraphrastic theory. They cannot be cited as evidence that the poets in question no longer considered themselves to be paraphrasing the biblical text. At the same time, because the same procedures were used in free literary composition, neither can they be adduced as positive evidence of the paraphrastic intent of the poets. The proof that indeed the biblical poems can legitimately be spoken of as paraphrases must depend on the evidence already collected.

It is, however, in these lengthier amplifications that the particular qualities of the individual poets emerge most clearly, as well as the patterns of development of the Old and New Testament epics. Both traditions reveal a concern with the structure of the *narratio*. They strive to construct a self-contained, coherent narrative that will throw into relief the inherent Christian message. This was already evident in the previous chapter in the poets' adherence to the principle of *brevitas*. But the concern for the construction of the *narratio* takes different forms in the two traditions. For this reason the Old and New Testament poets will be dealt with separately in this chapter.

The New Testament Poets

Juvencus' treatment of the parable of the sower was cited in the previous chapter as an illustration of paraphrastic amplification. That passage can also serve as a starting point for our present discussion. Lines 739-40 contain the figure of *interpretatio* (*illa cadunt diversa solo sortemque locorum / pro virtute ferunt*). But the expanded syntactical framework created by that figure serves a further purpose. The poet is able to alert the reader to the crucial aspect of the parable he is to hear, that the seed experiences a different fate depending on where it falls, and to anticipate the allegorical interpretation that the parable is to receive (in the phrase *pro virtute* especially). Juvencus employs such a generalizing statement at the beginning of a section of narrative in a number of other

passages.[3] Such a procedure is in conformity with rhetorical precepts for the construction of a prooemium. The writer should preface his narrative with a brief summary of the narrative's content in order to assure himself of a receptive (*attentus/docilis*) audience.[4] In anticipating the allegorical sense of the parable (with the phrase *pro virtute*), Juvencus follows another rhetorical precept. Quintilian, followed by Fortunatianus, recommends that the *narratio* contain *semina quaedam probationum* so that the listener or reader is prepared for the conclusions that will be drawn from the narrative.[5] In a similar way Juvencus anticipates the interpretation of the parable of the sower in the narrative. Such an "impure" allegory, that is, an allegory in which some words look to the literal sense underlying the allegory, was recognized by ancient theory.[6] It is a technique used elsewhere by Juvencus to alert his reader to the figurative sense of a passage.[7]

Juvencus and the later New Testament poets apply the rhetorical principle of *utilitas*[8] to the reformation of the biblical narrative. That is, the *narratio* should serve the large purpose of the speech/work of literature of which it is part. In forensic oratory it must contribute to the persuasion of the jury, in biblical poetry it must inculcate the Christian message. The technique of mixed allegory, the sowing of *semina quaedam probationum* in the *narratio*, serves this end. But it is more appropriate to the faithful paraphrase of Juvencus[9] than to his successors, who favour a more thorough

[3] I 537, II 460, III 261, IV 169-70, 303, 643.

[4] Ar. *Rhet.* III 14,6 (1415a): ἐν δὲ προλόγοις καὶ ἔπεσι δεῖγμά ἐστιν τοῦ λόγου, ἵνα προειδῶσι περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος καὶ μὴ κρέμηται ἡ διάνοια; *Rhet. ad Her.* I 4,7: *dociles auditores habere poterimus, si summam causae breviter exponemus et si adtentos eos faciemus.*

[5] Quintilian IV 2,54: *ne illud quidem fuerit inutile, semina quaedam probationum spargere, verum sic ut narrationem esse meminerimus, non probationem*; Fortunatianus II 20 (125.22 - 126.2 Montefusco): *narratio omnis qualis esse debet?* προκατάσκευος, *id est, ut habeat in se quaestionum semina et sit praestructiva.*

[6] Quintilian VIII 6,47-48: *habet usum talis allegoriae frequenter oratio, sed raro totius, plerumque apertis permixta est ... illud commixtum frequentissimum: 'equidem ceteras tempestates et procellas in illis dumtaxat fluctibus contionum semper Miloni putavi esse subeundas.' nisi adiecisset 'dumtaxat contionum,' esset allegoria* (sc. *tota*): *nunc eam miscuit. quo in genere et species ex arcessitis verbis venit et intellectus ex propriis.*

[7] I 344-45, II 133, 166, 355-56, 590-91, 763, III 242, IV 255.

[8] Quintilian IV 2,40, with the remarks of Lausberg (above, ch.2, n.40), vol. 1, p.174.

[9] It is interesting that Nonnus' paraphrase of John's Gospel, which is still more literal than Juvencus' paraphrase, nevertheless makes use of the mixed allegory. Thus in his version of Christ's comparison of the disciples to harvesters who reap where others have sown, many expressions not in the biblical text are incorporated to point

penetration of narrative by interpretation. Juvencus' handling of the meeting between the prophetess Anna and the child Jesus (I 214-20), on the other hand, anticipates the practice of later poets.

haec ait in Simone Deus; mox ecce profetae
215 femineam sancto conplet spiramine mentem.
Anna fuit natu gravior, quam in flore iuventae
destituit viduam mors inmatura mariti.
casta sed in templo semper pro coniuge vita
et cultus cessere Dei; quae numine iussa
220 cognovit Christum et simili sermone locuta est.

Juvencus' account is reduced to the bare facts that Anna was an inspired prophetess, aged and a widow, who served in the temple and recognized Christ. The details of her ancestry, age and temple service (Lk 2,36-37) and the circumstances of her prophecy (Lk 2,38) are omitted. But, if the narrative content of the episode is reduced, the brief facts that remain are much elaborated.[10] Juvencus thereby enhances the poetic qualities of his paraphrase;[11] at the same time, in accordance with the principle of *utilitas*, he emphasizes the elements of the story that are likely to be morally and spiritually instructive to his reader: that Anna was inspired by God (215 and 219), and that she preferred a life of chastity and service to God to remarriage (218-19). Two tendencies here coalesce: the tendency to abbreviate the narrative content of the biblical original and the tendency to amplify what in that bare narrative framework is susceptible to poetic or moralizing elaboration. The poet's account demonstrates the canonical virtues of the *narratio*: brevity, clarity and persuasiveness; only what serves the spiritual point is retained by eliminating unnecessary details and concentrating on what is germane to the poet's Christian message.

the spiritual interpretation of the passage: IV 165 εὐγλώσσοιο, 166 ἐχέφρονες, 167 χείλεσιν, οὐ παλάμῃσιν ... λάλον ἄρπην, 168 θεουδέα λήια, 170 νοήμονα καρπόν, 171 θέσκελα λήια, 172 πιστὰ θαλύσια, 173 εὐσεβίης ἀροτῆρα, 177 αὔλακι φωνῆς, 180 στομάτεσσιν.

[10] This is substantially what Herzog (*Bibelepik*, pp.124-54) means by "erbauliche Relief." But, as often, Herzog underestimates the influence of traditional literary theory on the procedures of the biblical poets.

[11] Especially lines 215-17. For the chiastic golden line, 215 (of the form abCBA, called by L.P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963], p.216, the "silver line," as opposed to the true golden line of the form abCAB); compare Juvencus I 115; both the phrases *flore iuventae* and *mors immatura* are Virgilian (*Aen.* VIII 160 and XI 166-67). The former is frequent in later poetry: Seneca, *Ph.* 620, Silius XVI 405 (cf. 455 *florente iuventa*), Claudian, *Cons. Stil.*, II 351, Prudentius, *C. Symm.* II 7.

This combination of narrative abbreviation with the elaboration of edifying details is not typical of Juvencus who prefers to reflect the original more accurately. But it is a procedure much practised by Sedulius. Miracles of healing show the most systematic application of this procedure. Typically the symptoms of an illness and the reversal of those symptoms after the act of healing are described with great abundance through the figure of *interpretatio*. The actual words or actions that bring about the cure are by contrast simply expressed. Sedulius' account of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law (Mt 8,14-15) is a good example of this procedure:

> et cum venisset Iesus in domum Petri, vidit socrum eius iacentem et febricitantem. et tetigit manum eius, et dimisit eam febris: et surrexit, et ministrabat eis.

forte Petri validae torrebat lampadis aestu
febris anhela socrum, dubioque in funere pendens
35 saucia sub gelidis ardebat vita periclis,
inmensusque calor frigus letale coquebat.
at postquam fessos Domini manus adtigit artus,
igneus ardor abiit, totisque extincta medullis
fonte latentis aquae cecidit violentia flammae. (III 33-39)

The actual act of healing (*tetigit manum eius*) is paraphrased simply by Sedulius. The only amplification introduced, *fessos artus*, is a Virgilian locution[12] that further describes the woman's sickness. In accordance with his normal custom, Sedulius has omitted all superfluous detail from the Gospel story. But the symptoms of the woman's illness (*iacentem et febricitantem*) and the departure of those symptoms after the act of healing (*dimisit eam febris*) are amplified by the figure of *interpretatio* with a good deal of periphrastic elaboration. The genitives of identity *lampadis aestu*, *fonte ... aquae* and *violentia flammae* contribute to the sense of verbal abundance. Within the extended syntactic framework created by the figure of *interpretatio*, Sedulius employs a number of other devices to emphasize the seriousness of the woman's fever and hence enhance the miraculous nature of the cure. The use of antithesis is typically Sedulian.[13] Lines 33-36 elaborate the antithesis between the

[12] *G.* IV 190, *Aen.* II 253, III 511, IX 814, Val. Flacc. I 48; cf. *Alethia* III 438.

[13] Cf. the antithesis between living water and ordinary water in Sedulius' treatment of the episode of the Samaritan woman at the well (IV 222-32). For the frequency of antithesis in Sedulius see Mayr (above, ch.5, n.2), pp.14, 27 and 85-86, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.142. The figure antimetabole, the most developed form of antithesis, is also found in Sedulius, Mayr, p.87. Sedulius, like Augustine (Marrou, *Saint Augustin* [above, ch.2, n.81], p.80), uses antithesis as a means to formulate his thought. As

heat of the fever and the chill of death. Sedulius draws attention to the paradox involved, that from the heat of a fever can come the chill of death, by the juxtaposition of words for heat and cold (*gelidis ardebat*, 35; *calor frigus*, 36).[14] The paradoxical situation is resolved by another antithesis (39) between two opposites, fire and water. This time the spring of Christ's water acts according to its natural properties, and stills the fires of the fever. The passage, then, is articulated by two antitheses, heat and cold and fire and water. It is significant that only line 37, the act of healing itself, contains no reference to either of these antitheses. In this respect, too, it is stylistically distinct from its context. The poetic locutions *febris anhela* (cf. Virgil, *G.* III 497; Ovid, *Pont.* I 10,5), *gelidis ... periclis* (recalling *gelida mors*; cf. III 138 and *ThLL* VI 2, 1729.52-54), *frigus letale* (Ovid, *Met.* II 611) and *igneus ardor* (Claudian, *Carm. min.* IX 7) all emphasize the essential antitheses. The culminating metaphor (*fonte latentis aquae*) is biblical (Jo 4,14). Its use implies a further spiritual meaning to the miracle; one that goes beyond its particular historical significance. Christ, as a spring of living water, can save from spiritual as well as physical death.[15] Thus Sedulius combines paraphrastic amplification (especially the figures of antithesis and *interpretatio*), poetic reminiscence and biblical metaphor to concentrate attention on the miraculous nature of Christ's healing and its spiritual significance for his readers.

Sedulius' treatment of the raising of Lazarus uses the same techniques. But here the poet is working with a more detailed biblical account. His handling of the episode shows what could be done in

Norden (above, ch.2, n.82), vol. 2, pp.507-509, notes, Christian doctrine, founded as it was on a number of basic antitheses (e.g. heaven : earth; life : death; spirit : body; light : darkness), and with its spiritual interpretation of physical phenomena, lent itself particularly well to antithetical expression. Sedulius' constant recasting of the biblical text in antithetical form can be seen as a form of modal variation (cf. Sopater, Μεταποιήσεις [508.26 - 509.1 Glöckner] and the fragment quoted in an anonymous Περὶ σχημάτων [III 112.24-28 Sp.]). Developed examples of the antithetical mode are found in Sedulius' treatment of the temptation of Christ (II 190-95 – Devil's promise of worldly power / Christ's eternal control of all creation), and in the comparison between Jesus and Moses in the episode of the feeding of the five thousand (III 208-13).

[14] For similar juxtapositions of contrasted words see I 127, 198, 263, II 42, 44, 201, 252, 282-83, III 62, 101, 127, 142, 186, 272, IV 29, 30, 273, 303, V 64, 66, 68, 69, 143, 162, 199, 203, 205 (where the word order mirrors the sense – *inter carnifices sancto pendente latrones*), 294, 332. For the combination of antithesis and paradox see above, ch.5, n.135.

[15] For an explicitly allegorical interpretation of a miracle of healing see Sedulius' treatment of Christ's healing of the man blind from birth (Jo 9,1-7), IV 265-70, where physical blindness is related to human sinfulness. For Sedulius' awareness of the spiritual sense underlying the miracle stories see III 338-39.

constructing a *narratio* that maintains narrative movement but always with the intent of bringing out the spiritual message.

Bethaniaeque solum repetens intrarat; ibique
Lazarus occidua tumulatus sorte iacebat
iam quarto sine luce die claususque sepulchri
marmore corruptum tabo exalabat odorem.
flebant germanae, flebat populatio[16] praesens,
flebat et Omnipotens, sed corpore, non deitate
exanimosque artus illa pro parte dolebat,
qua moriturus erat; lacrimis implevit amicum,
maiestate Deum. quid credere, Martha, moraris?
quidve, Maria, gemis? Christum dubitatis, an unum
possit ab infernis hominem revocare cavernis,
qui dabit innumeras post funera surgere turbas?
ergo ubi clamantis Domini sonuit tuba[17] dicens
'Lazare, perge foras': magno concussa pavore
tartara dissiliunt, herebi patuere recessus,
et tremuit letale chaos, mortisque profundae
lex perit, atque anima proprias repente medullas
cernitur ante oculos vivens adstare cadaver.
postque sepulchralem tamquam recreatus honorem
ipse sibi moriens et postumus extat et haeres.

The passage falls into five distinct sections:

i) 271-74, summarizing narrative (*percursio*) that sets the scene and concentrates attention on the salient details (Lazarus' death and burial) by periphrastic breadth; figures kept to a minimum (only the oxymoron *sine luce die*).

ii) 275-82, passage of high emotional tone, emphasized by abundance of figures: anaphora, tricolon, *interpretatio*, antithesis, rhetorical question, apostrophe; narrative details incorporated by modal variation. Contrasts with

iii) 283-84 *foras*, literal, quasi-grammatical paraphrase of Christ's words, by which miracle accomplished.

iv) 284 *magno* – 288: *interpretatio* creates diffuse syntactical structure, permits poetic elaboration on victory over death;[18] miraculous nature

[16] I.e. *populus*, a late Latin usage.

[17] The words *sonuit tuba* pick up the comparison in the preceding lines between the raising of Lazarus and the Last Judgement. They are a good example of a paraphrastic expansion used to emphasize a point of interpretation.

[18] Note especially the poetic vocabulary for hell, *tartara*, *herebi recessus*, *letale chaos*, and the frequent Virgilian locutions, *magno concussa pavore* (*Aen.* XII 411, *nati concussa dolore*; cf. Claudius Marius Victorius, *Alethia* III 664, *concussa pavore*), *patuere recessus* (*Aen.* VIII 242, *patuere cavernae*), *ante oculos ... adstare* (*Aen.* III 150). For *mortisque profundae / lex perit* compare ps.-Claudian, *Miracula Christi* 12, *durae mortis lex resoluta perit*. Lines 287 *atque anima* - 288 recall Prudentius, *Apoth.* 756, *exequias gradiente cadavere vivas*.

further emphasized by oxymoron *vivens ... cadaver* (cf. III 89).

v) 289-90, paradoxical *sententia*,[19] Christ has power to reverse laws of nature; summarizes content of passage.

Sections i) and ii) have been discussed already as examples of abbreviation and modal variation. It is now possible to see how they operate in context. Sedulius skilfully varies the emotional tone of the passage by alternating highly wrought sections with those of less affective force. Structurally, Christ's words *Lazare, perge foras* are at the centre of the narrative. The simple description of the actual performance of the miracle contrasts with the stylistically elaborated passages immediately preceding and following to emphasize the effortlessness and remarkable nature of the transformation produced by a few simple words or a single action. Just as the structure of the whole passage concentrates attention on the spiritual content of the narrative, so individual sections are constructed with the overall purpose of instruction in mind. Narrative details which do not enhance the miraculous nature of the episode or point to the moral to be drawn from it are excluded.

Sedulius' practice goes far beyond what we have seen in Juvencus. Sedulius is not content only to hint at the spiritual interpretation the episode carries by introducing *semina quaedam probationum*. His whole account is informed and directed by the soteriological and eschatological meaning of the narrative.[20] Moreover, it expresses the powerful emotional involvement of the poet in his story, an involvement which he wishes to arouse also in his readers. Verbal abundance, the figures of anaphora and paradox, apostrophe and rhetorical question – the last pair introduced by modal variation – communicate the affective content of the message. The inclusion of such appeals to the emotions in the *narratio* was defended by Quintilian against those who would exclude *affectus*

[19] Sedulius often ends an episode with a *sententia*; cf. I 159, 191, II 262, III 188, 198, IV 39, 124, 250, V 82, 138, 251; the gnomic nature of the remarks is often enhanced by anaphora, paradox, antithesis and isocolon. Theon is aware of the habit of ending a *narratio* with a *sententia*, but considers it more appropriate to drama: ἐπιφωνεῖν δὲ διηγήσει ἐστὶ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος τῆς διηγήσεως γνώμην ἐπιλέγειν, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔθ' ἱστορίᾳ πρέπον ἐστὶν οὔτε πολιτικῷ λόγῳ, θεάτρῳ δὲ καὶ σκηνῇ μᾶλλον ἐπιτήδειον (91.11-14 Sp.); cf. Quintilian VIII 5,2: *consuetudo iam tenuit, ut ... lumina ... praecipueque in clausulis posita sententias* (sc. *vocaremus*).

[20] The contrast with Juvencus' procedure is clear if the Lazarus episode in the earlier work is compared (IV 333-97). For another Christian poetic treatment of the story see Prudentius, *Apoth.* 741-81.

entirely from that part of a speech (IV 2,103 and 120).[21] But the thorough penetration of the *narratio* by *affectus* goes beyond anything Quintilian would recommend (cf. IV 2,104). The consequent resolution of narrative continuity is not without its consequences in loss of *claritas*. Sedulius, however, can rely on his subject being thoroughly familiar to his audience. It is tempting to see in this allusiveness – the interpenetration of literal and spiritual – a typically Christian form of *narratio*.[22]

Sedulius' allusive manner is most evident in his handling of the Crucifixion and its immediate context. The narrative momentum is frequently slowed to incorporate spiritual interpretation or an emotional outburst. The poet's apostrophe of Pilate (V 157-63), an example of *indignatio*, is a case in point:

heu facinus, Pilate, tuum! quot gesseris uno
crimina iudicio, vigili si mente notares,
non solas lavisse manus, sed corpore toto
160 debueras sacrum veniae sperare lavacrum.
corripis insontem, sistis sub praeside regem,
praeponis humana Deo; qua morte teneris,
quod Dominum numerosa cruci per vulnera figis?

Only here is Pilate mentioned by name and his part in Christ's death referred to. Narrative details in the Gospel – Christ's appearance before Pilate, and Pilate's washing his hands of him – are transformed by modal variation into a denunciation of Pilate. Pilate's guilt (161-63) and an antithetical expansion on his need for total immersion in the waters of baptism (159-60) serve to concentrate attention on the enormity of Pilate's crime.[23] Narrative and interpretative elements combine to express the poet's horror at Pilate's moral culpability.

[21] Cicero, *Part. Or.* 32 (a passage quoted by Quintilian IV 2,107) also recommends the inclusion in a *narratio* of affective techniques (*suavis autem narratio est quae habet admirationes exspectationes exitus inopinatos, interpositos motus animorum, conloquia personarum, dolores iracundias metus laetitias cupiditates*).

[22] Two points should be made. First, such allusiveness presupposes familiarity with the Bible. It would not have been possible for Juvencus. His handling of the parable of the two ways (I 679-89 = Mt 7,13-14) is closer to Sedulian allusiveness, but here he can rely on pagan familiarity with the idea in, for example, the myth of the choice of Heracles (cf. Norden [above, ch.2, n.82], pp.467 and 477). Second, the technique is not common to all Christian, even all biblical, poets. It is much less characteristic of the Old Testament poets, for instance.

[23] The passage is typically Sedulian in its use of antitheses (*quot ... uno*, 157; *non solas ... manus, sed corpore toto*, 159; *humana Deo*, 162) and paradox (161). Note also the use of *interpretatio* to make a spiritual point in 161-62.

In this case indignation predominates. The reference to baptism is subordinated to denunciation of Pilate's crime. But regularly in book V the promise of Salvation inherent in the narrative breaks through the sombre details of the story. Consider, for instance, Sedulius' treatment of Mt 26,67, *tunc expuerunt in faciem eius, et colaphis eum ceciderunt: alii autem palmas in faciem ei dederunt*:

> postquam nulla dolis patuit via, bracchia tolli
> armat in insontem saevus furor. heu mihi quantis
> impedior lacrimis rapidum memorare tumultum
> sacrilegas movisse manus. non denique passim
> vel colaphis pulsare caput, vel caedere palmis,
> aut spuere in faciem plebs execranda quievit.
> ille tamen patiens subiecto corpore totum
> sustinuit nostraeque dedit sua membra saluti.
> namque per hos colaphos caput est sanabile nostrum,
> haec sputa per Dominum nostram lavere figuram,
> his alapis nobis libertas maxima plausit. (V 93-103)

The *narratio* is introduced by an indication of time (*postquam ... via*) and a generalizing statement that anticipates and sets the tone for what is to follow (*bracchia ... furor*).[24] But the poet's indignation at the *saevus furor* immediately bursts through the narrative in an exclamation of outrage and grief. Sedulius speaks in his own person – the notion that speech is prevented by tears is a poetic topos adapted to Christian purposes.[25] The content of the biblical passage – the threefold insults to Christ – is represented twice in Sedulius, each time in a tricolon, reinforced in the first case by anaphora and *variatio* (*vel ... vel ... / aut ...*, 97-98), in the second by polyptoton (*hos ... / haec ... / his ...*, 101-103). Indignation at the *plebs execranda* gives way in the second passage to joy at the soteriological implications of Christ's suffering. The transition is mediated by a description of Christ's forbearance, a detail not in the biblical text, though a natural inference from it, which is interpreted as voluntary submission to ensure human Salvation. The movement from *lacrimis* to *laetitia* is experienced by the poet himself. In each case the first person is used. But it is a movement in which his audience is intended to share. Sedulius uses the first-person plural (*nostrae ... nostrum ... nostram ... nobis ...*, 100-103) to associate the readers with his own response.

[24] Both are in accordance with rhetorical precepts for the *narratio*. See above, n.4, and ch.5, n.15.

[25] See Thraede, 'Untersuchungen II' (above, ch.4, n.78), p.127, n.15.

The use of the first person represents a break with the tradition of the epic poet's detachment from his subject. In the present case we are not dealing with prefatory remarks or poetological reflections, which the poet naturally speaks in his own person;[26] the first person here (normally the first-person plural) serves the purposes of persuasion and protreptic. Its function is to identify writer and reader and thus make moral instruction more effective. The exhortatory first-person plural is found in a number of passages in the *C.P.*, mostly in those that derive an ethical lesson from the biblical text.[27] It had already been used occasionally by Juvencus, even illogically in the Sermon on the Mount, where Jesus identifies himself with sinful humanity (I 632, 634, 640, 647; cf. III 487, IV 13). Its employment by the New Testament poets is further evidence of their emphasis on moral and spiritual exhortation and persuasion. It is of a piece with their frequent use of the affective modes of apostrophe, exclamation and rhetorical question, often introduced by modal variation. The *narratio* is no longer an end in itself, as in the epic tradition. The analogy is rather with forensic oratory, where the narration is intended to work on the hearer and move him to favour the speaker's case.

Book V of the *C.P.* shows the fullest development of Sedulius' allusive technique. Elsewhere he often subjoins to individual *narrationes* an expansion on the significance of the passage in question. In these cases the expansion is intended not only to clarify the true meaning of the text by the methods of Christian exegesis, but also to direct the reader's response by the use of affective language.[28] Once again parallels can be discovered in the rhetorical theory of the *narratio*. Quintilian recommends, where appropriate, breaking up a long *narratio* into smaller sections, each with its own *probatio* (IV 2, 82 and 86). Moreover, he notes that a *narratio* often may properly end with an appeal to the emotions of the listener (IV 3,5).[29] Sedulius' practice is in accordance with these precepts.

[26] For such prefatory remarks and poetological reflections in the *C.P.* see the preface to book I, and III 338-39. It should be noted that the breakdown of epic detachment and the injection of the poet's personality into the narrative can be traced back to the first century A.D., especially in Lucan and Statius; cf. Williams, *Change and Decline* (above, ch.4, n.45), pp.201 and 232-41.

[27] II 54-55, 104-106, 155-58, III 327, IV 72-73, 268-69, V 168-69, 290-94 (and often in the commentary on the Lord's Prayer, II 231-300).

[28] Narrative, interpretation and affective exhortation correspond roughly to the traditional threefold exegesis of Scripture: literal, spiritual, and moral (cf. *O.P.* II 17; 224.1 - 225.4).

[29] Quintilian mentions *indignatio* as especially appropriate for the transition to *probationes*. In the *C.P.* the affective passages are not transitional, but the belief that a

Sedulius, however, does not attach a section of interpretation to every episode in the *C.P.* Nor does he systematically separate narration from interpretation, but moves easily between the two. In Arator the regular alternation between literal narrative and mystical interpretation becomes a principle of composition (cf. *Ep. ad Vig.* 21-22). The poet detects a figurative meaning in every episode of Acts that he records.[30] In this way he systematizes the inconsistent practice of Sedulius. In other respects, too, Arator follows the tradition of the New Testament paraphrase. This is especially evident in his handling of miracle episodes such as Peter's healing of Tabitha (Acts 9,36-41). Arator's introduction to the *narratio* shows the combination of abbreviation of narrative detail with amplification of spiritual content which we have traced back to Juvencus:

> te quoque, laude potens, caelestibus incluta signis
> carminibus, Ioppe, canimus, qua sede Tabitha
> mansuras fundebat opes et semper egenis
> munere mater erat, quae vitae tempore clauso
> ponitur in medio, lacrimis plus lota, feretro,
> post funus victura suum. fiducia Petrum
> evocat; ille gerens divini pignus amoris,
> ut numquam pietate vacet, quod vota requirunt
> praestaturus adest. (I 801-809)

The episode starts with an indication of place, in accordance with rhetorical precepts for the *narratio*. The apostrophe, *te quoque ... Ioppe*, introduces a variation on this conventional beginning (cf. II 753-54, *tu quoque ... Troia*).[31] The poet has abstracted the main details of the biblical account: that Tabitha lived in Joppa and distributed alms (Acts 9,36); that she died (9,37); that Peter was sent for and he responded to the call (9,38-39). Peter's motives for agreeing to come to Joppa (*divinus amor* and *pietas*) are introduced by the simple syntactical expedients of participial phrase and subordinate clause.[32] The significance of the miracle is thereby raised

narratio might properly end in such *affectus* could easily have been detached from its functional justification. It is clear that rhetorical teaching on this point was subject to elaboration. For a list of affective possibilities see Quintilian IV 3,15 (*indignatio, miseratio, invidia, convicium, excusatio, conciliatio, maledictorum refutatio*).

[30] Much use is made of symbolism, etymological interpretations of names and the typological interpretation of Old Testament passages. See further McKinlay's *Indices rationis typicae*, pp.181-90 (esp. pp.188-89 for terminology) and Thraede, 'Arator' (above, ch.4, n.96), pp.190-91. See also above, ch.4, n.107.

[31] Cf. Virgil, *G.* III 1, *Te quoque, magna Pales ... canemus.*

[32] Other typical expedients in the biblical poets are the use of epithets and appositional phrases. Subordinate clauses are most commonly relative or purpose clauses.

from that of a particular act of healing to a general demonstration of Christian charity. Tabitha's alms-giving is dwelt on with periphrastic breadth (803-804), because it was her generosity to the poor that assured her raising from the dead (I 834-35, *illa manus meruit Petri contingere dextram / pauperibus quae larga fuit*). Arator's abbreviation of Acts 9,38 is of particular interest. The verse reads:

> cum autem prope esset Lydda ab Ioppe, discipuli audientes quia Petrus esset in ea, miserunt duos viros ad eum, rogantes: ne pigriteris venire usque ad nos.

Arator's version is a simple *fiducia Petrum / evocat*. The omission of the first half of this verse, *cum ... ea*, need occasion no surprise. It is quite in accordance with the summarizing techniques of Arator and his predecessors in the paraphrase. Arator's substitution of an abstract notion, *fiducia*, for the *duos viros* of Acts is more significant. It serves to elevate the miracle from its particular historical situation and put it on the plane of eternal Christian truth: *fiducia* (i.e. *fides*) evokes *pietas* and leads to the petitioner's salvation.[33] Arator uses such abstractions more often than Sedulius and in this respect adheres more closely to Juvencus' practice.[34]

It is noteworthy that Arator uses a traditional poetic locution, *pignus amoris*, in a new, Christian sense, referring to divine rather than human love.[35] Such reinterpretation of the language of pagan epic was one way, as we have seen, that a distinctively Christian poetic idiom was being formed. The pious expansion *ut numquam pietate vacet* is a reminiscence of Sedulius, *C.P.* V 71, *ne qua pius a pietate vacaret*.[36] The context in the *C.P.* is Jesus' restoration of the

[33] For *pietas* as the motivation of miracles see *H.A.* II 325 and 684; for *pietas* in Sedulius see II 27, 54, 260, IV 35, 132, 196, V 71, 250. For the *fides* of a petitioner *H.A.* I 821, 850, 874, 952-53, II 166, 628-30; cf. Sedulius, *C.P.* III 16-17, 121, 125 (*fiducia*), 127, 248, IV 35-36 (*fides* evokes *pietas*), 74 (cf. Lk 7,50), 215-17. For *fiducia* in the sense of *fides* see also Juvencus I 648 and II 36.

[34] An unsystematic comparison of the first 500 lines of the *H.A.* with 500 lines from books II and III of the *C.P.* suggests that abstractions are used as the subject of sentences more than twice as often in Arator as in Sedulius. The latter uses abstractions primarily in miracle stories. Numerically Juvencus' use of abstractions is about equal to Arator's (judging by book II 1-500 of Juvencus). But in Juvencus' poem they make a very much greater impact, both because of the primarily narrative content of the *Libri Evangeliorum* and because of the greater range of abstract nouns employed (cf. Huemer, index, pp.147-48, *abstractum pro concreto*).

[35] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* V 538 and 572, Ovid, *Her.* XI 113, Silius Italicus VIII 149 (cf. XVII 364), *Carmen de resurrectione* 65, Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini* I 67, with the remarks of Thraede, 'Arator' (above, ch.4, n.96), p.193.

[36] The parallel is not cited by McKinlay, but is noted by Wallach (above, ch.4, n.96), p.148 (cf. *H.A.* II 16).

ear of the high priest's servant, cut off by Peter. The *pius* in question is Jesus, the act of impiety was committed by Peter. It is likely that Arator remembered this passage in the *C.P.* when he employed a similar locution in his own biblical paraphrase. Peter demonstrates in the Acts the *pietas* he lacked in the Gospel story.

Arator goes on to amplify the scene that met Peter when he reached Tabitha's home. It corresponds to Acts 9,39, *et circumsteterunt illum omnes viduae, flentes et ostendentes tunicas et vestes, quas faciebat illis Dorcas.*

> lugentia tecta petenti
> stant inopes viduique greges et bracchia monstrant
> exuviis onerata suis, quas Dorcadis ipsis
> texuerant dederantque manus. (I 809-12)

Tabitha's household is described with ecphrastic breadth. The visual details, especially *bracchia ... suis*, corresponding to the colourless *ostendentes tunicas et vestes* of Acts, present the scene before the readers' eyes.[37] Poetic locutions contribute to the visual effect; McKinlay notes the following parallels: *lucentia tecta*, Lucan V 30 *maerentia tecta*; *bracchia ... / exuviis onerata suis*, Ovid, *Met.* III 109 *onerataque bracchia telis* and Lucan IX 718 *exuvias positura suas*. But here again Arator's debt to his predecessors in the biblical epic is evident. The poems of Juvencus and Sedulius both contain similar ecphrastic descriptions of a house of mourning (Juvencus IV 334-35, the house of Lazarus; *C.P.* III 129-34, the house of Jairus). The similarity extends even to the wording of the three passages:

> mersasque atris de morte tenebris
> germanas *luctus lacrimosa*que *tecta* tenebant.
> (Juvencus IV 334-35)
>
> ventum erat ad maesti *lugentia* culmina *tecti* (*C.P.* III 129)
>
> *lugentia tecta* petenti (*H.A.* I 811)

Juvencus had combined alliteration of 'l' and 't' (*luctus lacrimosaque tecta tenebant*) with periphrastic breadth (*luctus lacrimosaque tecta*, synonymic amplification producing a tautological hendiadys, the equivalent of *lugentia lacrimosaque tecta*). Sedulius retained the verbal abundance but, in the spirit of *aemulatio*, improved on

[37] The quality of ἐνάργεια (*evidentia*) is appropriate to an ἔκφρασις; cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* IV 55,68: *demonstratio* (i.e. ἐνάργεια) *est cum ita verbis res exprimitur ut geri negotium et res ante oculos esse videatur*. For the use of such visual detail in *narrationes* as an affective technique see Quintilian IV 2,63-64.

Juvencus by introducing reminiscences of pagan epic. His *maesti lugentia culmina tecti* conflated Lucan V 30 *maerentia tecta* and Virgil, *Aen.* II 695 *culmina tecti*. Arator returns to a simpler form of expression. He excludes the Virgilian locution, but retains the Sedulian participle *lugentia*, which agrees with *tecta* on the analogy of Lucan's *maerentia tecta*.

There follows a moralizing expansion on the efficacy of silent grief, accompanied by faith. It is introduced by the exclamation *O qualia fervens / implorat fomenta dolor!* As in the *C.P.*, the affective language creates the impression of the poet's involvement in the narrative and directs the response of the readers. Unlike allegorical interpretation, which regularly comes at the end of a *narratio*, such moralizing passages and the affective techniques that characterize them may be inserted into the body of the narrative.

Arator goes on to describe the actual miracle:

> (Petrus) iubet ocius omnes
> ire foras flexoque genu fit pronior arvis;
> tunc magis alta petens oratio fusa Tonanti
> mox super astra volat, propriis quae clavibus intrat.
> dic ubi sunt, mundana, tuae, sapientia, leges,
> quae virtute negas in se corrupta reverti
> quae vitam de morte vides? ut munera Petrus
> sensit adesse Dei quibus est reddenda saluti
> quae defleta iacet, fatur conversus ad illam:
> 'surge, Tabitha.' vocata redit lucique reducta
> se stupuit superesse sibi, quam protinus ipse
> prendit et erectam turbis gaudentibus offert.
> illa manus meruit Petri contingere dextram
> pauperibus quae larga fuit, qua vita revertens
> cetera membra levat corpusque itura per omne
> hanc subit quae causa fuit. (I 822-37)

Here again moralizing passages interchange with narrative: 822 (*iubet*) to 823 and 830-33 are narrative, 826-29 and 834-37 are moralizing expansions and 824-25 an elaboration of a single word of the biblical text, *oravit* (Acts 9,40), suggested by the apparent paradox of kneeling to pray to heaven (*pronior arvis*; *magis alta petens*). The Christian activity of prayer is assimilated by periphrastic breadth to the epic commonplace of the 'ascent to heaven'.[38] In its

[38] E.g. Virgil, *Aen.* IX 657-58, Silius X 576-77, Prudentius, *Psych.* 305-306. The reverse situation, the descent from heaven, is more common; cf. Thomas Greene, *The Descent from Heaven: A Study in Epic Continuity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

language the passage recalls Sedulius' treatment of the Ascension of Christ: *C.P.* V 429-30, altas / *ire* super *nubes*, and *O.P.* 5,38 (302.16), *ad* astra *migrare*, while in syntax it is reminiscent of Virgil, *Aen.* V 512, alta volans *in nubila fugit*. (Arator has *alta petens . . . super astra volat*).[39] Much of the rest of the passage shows similarities with the other New Testament poets. The insertion of an apostrophe in the *narratio* is a Sedulian technique; even the language (826) is of Sedulian inspiration, though ultimately derived from Paul's first letter to the Corinthians.[40] Again, the use of a literal paraphrase of the words of healing (*surge, Tabitha* for *Tabita, surge*, Acts 9,40) is familiar, and the *interpretatio*, *vocata . . . superesse sibi* (831-32) has already been discussed.[41]

Discontinuity between episodes was an inevitable consequence of Arator's method of alternating narrative and interpretation. But even within episodes the narrative tends to be reduced to a series of discontinuous texts, each equipped with commentary. In the Tabitha story the poet is unusually conscientious in his representation of the original. The disruptive effect of the moralizing interruptions is mitigated by a number of consistent themes that run through the narrative. The triumphant apostrophe of *mundana sapientia* even before the miracle is performed is just the latest in a series of expressions that anticipate Tabitha's recovery (*post funus victura suum*, 806; *quod vota requirunt / praestaturus*, 808-809).[42] They culminate in the paradoxical *se stupuit superesse sibi* (832). Arator's preference for emphasizing from the first the certainty of Salvation at the expense of dramatic suspense is a reflection of his edifying intent. The same purpose is served by the introduction of the detail, absent from the biblical text, that the crowd rejoiced (*gaudentibus*, 833) when Tabitha's recovery was announced. It is, of course, a commonplace of miracle stories to record the wonder or joy of onlookers. The practice accords with rhetorical precepts, which stressed that the vividness or emotional force of a description could be enhanced by

[39] *Alta petens* is also a Virgilian locution found in the immediate context of the passage just quoted (*Aen.* V 508; cf. *G.* I 142), but not of heavenly ascent.

[40] I quote line 826 in the form preferred by Hudson-Williams, 'Notes on the Text' (above, ch.4, n.115), pp.91-92. Sedulius, *C.P.* I 220, *dic ubi sunt, natura, tuae post talia leges*, quoted by McKinlay, *ad loc.*, clearly supports Hudson-Williams' emendation. Sedulius, *C.P.* V 276-77, should also be quoted: *dic ubi nunc tristis victoria, dic ubi nunc sit / mors stimulus horrenda tuus*. Sedulius here paraphrases I Cor. 15,55, *ubi est, mors, victoria tua? ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus?*, also a reference to victory over death. For a similarly scornful attitude to worldly wisdom in the *H.A.* compare II 474.

[41] Above, p.158.

[42] For similar anticipatory remarks see I 630-31, 893-96, and II 444-45.

describing the reaction of onlookers.[43] In the *H.A.* the detail not only contributes to the affective force of the miracle, but also contrasts with the earlier description of the *lugentia tecta* (809). Finally, the interpretation of the biblical detail that Peter gave Tabitha his hand to raise her up (834-37; cf. Acts 9,41 *dans autem illi manum, erexit eam*) also helps to unify the passage by reminding us of the reference to Tabitha's alms-giving at the very beginning of the narrative (802-804). The passage is articulated by two antitheses, between life and death[44] and, subordinate to that, between joy and grief. Individualizing details are excluded unless they contribute to the literary qualities or the spiritual message of the passage. There are only three characters; the mourners are represented as an undifferentiated mass.[45] Tabitha moves from life to death, the mourners from grief to joy. Peter is the agent of the transformation, acting as the representative of divine love on earth (807, 828-29). The episode thus takes on a universal significance: the winning of salvation by faith, piety and good works through the agency of God's earthly representative.[46]

In the allegorical interpretation which follows, Arator insists on the ecclesiological significance of the miracle:

> si iure movemur,
> instaurata dies animae patet apta figuris,
> quam nimis antiqui depresserat umbra pericli
> ad vocem conversa Petri: caput ante gravatum
> legis in obscurae gremio velut altera surgens
> ecclesia praesente levat, tenebrasque repellit
> lux operum comitata fidem, quae legis ab ore
> non fuerat promissa salus, quia fonte renatis
> gratia perpetuae coepit dare munera vitae. (I 837-45)

Arator depends on two recurrent themes in his biblical exegesis: the association of Peter and the Church and the contrast between the old and new dispensations, as represented by the distinction between the

[43] Quintilian VIII 3,70. The description of onlookers' reactions to a miracle is common in the Gospels.

[44] For the antithesis *vita* : *mors* in Arator see McKinlay's indices of *lusus verborum et sententiarum* and *oxymora*, pp.192-95. For a similar juxtaposition of antithetical notions see line 803, *mansuras fundebat*.

[45] In Acts we find *discipuli, duos viros, omnes viduae, sanctos et viduas*. Arator has only *inopes viduique greges* (810) and *turbis* (833).

[46] For the soteriological interpretation of miracles of healing see also I 466-68, 471, 483, 766-70, II 209-16.

Old and New Testaments, Judaism and Christianity.[47] The antitheses between life and death, joy and grief, are superseded by the imagery of light and darkness (*dies* : *umbra*; *obscurae* . . . *tenebras* : *lux*; cf. 831 *lucique reducta*).[48] This movement from darkness to light has a twofold significance in Arator's exegesis. It represents the replacement of the old law by the new day of Christian Salvation and for the individual the promise of his own Salvation through baptism in the Church. Tabitha's raising from death to life thus is part of a continuing soteriological plan. Arator's exegesis emphasizes the indispensable role played by Peter/the Church as mediator between earth and heaven.

Arator's language shows the continuing creation of a Christian poetic idiom. Pagan locutions are given a new, specifically Christian connotation (*instaurata dies*, 838; *tenebrasque repellit*, 842; *promissa salus*, 844);[49] at the same time the traditional language of the New Testament poets is used for the Christian concepts of baptism and eternal life (*fonte renatis*, 844; *munera vitae*, 845).[50] The poet, it should be noted, takes care to signal to his readers the transition to allegorical interpretation: *si iure movemur,*[51] */ instaurata dies animae patet apta figuris.* It is Arator's practice throughout the poem to preface such remarks to his figural interpretations. As Thraede has noted, they typically contain exordial *topoi*;[52] in particular, invocations for divine guidance in the exegesis on which the poet is embarking. Arator invokes the Holy Spirit (I 142, 225-28, II 577-83)

[47] For the contrast between the old and new dispensations see above, ch.4, nn.110-12; for Peter as representative of the Church, I 901-903, 909-10, 1007-1009, 1031-32, 1043-44, 1062-63, 1069, and Cassiodorus, *ad Ps.* 108,15 (*CCL* 98, 998.221-22), *Petrus enim gerit Ecclesiae typum*; for Peter as *claviger aetherius*, I 74-75, 505-507, 820-22, 825, 899, 972-73, 1000-1001, 1055-57, II 260-61.

[48] For the frequency of this antithesis in Arator see McKinlay, *Indices rationis typicae*, p.181.

[49] McKinlay compares: to *instaurata dies* Virgil, *Aen.* IV 63 and Statius, *Theb.* II 88 and VII 94; to *tenebrasque repellit* Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 591; to *promissa salus* Lucan IV 235.

[50] For *fonte renatis* cf. Juvencus II 193 *fonte renatus* and *C.P.* V 291 *fonte renascentes* (also *H.A.* I 1028, II 250 and 600 *fonte renasci*). For *munera vitae* Juvencus (II 229, 769, IV 346, 455; cf. II 187 *munere vitam*) and Sedulius (*C.P.* V 290; cf. *H.A.* I 591). The locution is already used by Silius Italicus (XIV 177).

[51] For the use of the verb *movere* see Thraede, 'Arator' (above, ch.4, n.96), p.192. Thraede assumes the first-person plural *movemur* is simply an equivalent of the singular *moveor*. It is then a reflection on the poet's part – a formula of modesty – "if I am rightly inspired," i.e., "if I interpret correctly." It is possible, however, to retain the plural sense, "if we interpret correctly." It will then be a protreptic remark, designed to associate the poet's response with that of his readers.

[52] Ibid.

and Peter (I 771-72,[53] 896-98). Multiple exordia are not unusual in the epic tradition. But the regularity with which they are used by Arator probably owes more to the rhetorical precept that exordia may be introduced into the *narratio* whenever the listeners' attention and goodwill is particularly required. It is recognized that this will especially be the case immediately before the *argumentatio*.[54] Arator's practice represents a further undermining of the tradition of epic detachment in the interests of protreptic and persuasion. The process is characteristic of the New Testament poetry.

It is possible to view Arator's treatment of the raising of Tabitha as *narratio* followed by *argumentatio*. But the frequency with which the narrative is interrupted by interpretative passages even within a single episode suggests a second model for the *H.A.* Short passages of narrative are followed by longer sections of interpretation. The procedure is that of the commentary or exegetical sermon.[55] The poet now speaks as a *praedicator* rather than a *narrator*. In this way New Testament poetry is revealed in the *H.A.* as a hybrid genre, a cross between traditional epic, the persuasive techniques formulated for forensic oratory and the exegetical methods of the Christian sermon. Despite its instructional intent, it differs from didactic poetry in its reliance on the order of the biblical narrative rather than a sequence of argument. Sedulius stands midway in this development. In the interpenetration of narrative with instruction he continues and intensifies methods already practiced by Juvencus. But already a tendency is evident for the interpretative material to be precipitated out and to collect at the end of the narrative. It is the latter technique that characterizes the *H.A.* The frequent interjection of the poet in the *C.P.* in the form of

[53] Thraede (*loc. cit.*) understands I 771-72 as an invocation of Christ. The passage reads: *eloquar hic sacrae quae sint arcana figurae, / si mihi corda movet,* cuius *vox corpora reddit*. The relative *cuius* has no immediate antecedent, but it is clear from the context that it must refer to Peter. The lines appear in Arator's account of the healing of the *paralyticus* Aeneas (Acts 9,32-34). Lines 761-62 read: *quo munere vocis* (Peter's words to Aeneas) */ stringitur in solidum qui fluxerat antea nervis.* In that context it is clear that the man "whose voice restores bodies" (*cuius vox corpora reddit*) can only be Peter.

[54] Quintilian IV 1,73-75 and IV 3,9-11 (cf. Fortunatianus II 20, 126.21 - 127.1 Montefusco). For the *captatio benevolentiae* in such passages see, for example, *H.A.* I 225, *studio* . . . *inani*, I 897, *meae retinacula tarda loquelae.*

[55] Thus the traditional description of the *H.A.* as a verse commentary is accurate: Leimbach (above, ch.5, n.19), pp.231 and 261, Thraede, 'Epos', col. 1024, Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.xli, n.126, and liv. For the influence of the rhetorical divisions of a speech on Christian homiletic see Jean Leclercq, 'Prédication et rhétorique au temps de Saint Augustin', *RBen* 57 (1947), pp.117-31, esp. p.126.

exclamations, apostrophes, rhetorical questions and the protreptic first-person plural is another symptom of the fragmentation of the narrative under the influence of Christian homiletic. At the same time the reformation of the biblical narrative conforms to rhetorical precepts for the adaptation of the *narratio* to purposes of persuasion.

Rhetoric, poetic imitation, Christian *praedicatio*: the three streams converge in the New Testament epic. Their influence goes to shape the poet's imagination. Christianity and the classical literary tradition, transmitted as it is through the schools of late antiquity, work in unison; they are no longer felt to be at odds. For this reason is is often impossible to attribute exclusively Christian motivation to a stylistic feature or literary technique. The manner in which the poets handle the *narratio* will furnish a second example of this multiple inspiration. It is characteristic of all three New Testament poets to dissolve the biblical narrative into a series of disparate episodes with only the slightest temporal and local connection with what precedes and follows.[56] This, combined with the tendency to omit individualizing details within a *narratio*, undermines the sense of the biblical narrative as a sequence of events taking place in a chronological continuum, in a definite cultural and geographical setting. The events of the Gospels and Acts become timeless manifestations of divine power, set against a generalized backdrop. The reader is inclined to see here the influence of Christian figural interpretation, which typically detaches biblical events from their historical context and elevates them to the status of universal truth.[57] But the tendency to compose by episodes is not unique to Christian poets. The same practice has been observed, for instance, in Claudian, and can be traced back to the first century A.D. and the example of Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*.[58] It is a feature of the aesthetics of the Empire, both

[56] For temporal connectives in the *C.P.* see above, ch.5, n.15. For geographical references in Juvencus see Ilona Opelt (above, ch.5, n.77), pp.191-207, and in Sedulius Opelt, 'Die Szenerie bei Sedulius', *JbAC* 19 (1976), pp.109-19.

[57] For the nature of figural interpretation see especially Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp.48-49, 73-76, 116. Auerbach speaks, for instance, of "a fragmentary, discrete presentation, constantly seeking an interpretation from above" (p.74) and of the part the "figural tradition played ... in discrediting the horizontal, historical connections between events" (p.116). Both observations are applicable to the New Testament poets. The liturgical practice of breaking the Gospel texts into discrete pericopes is likely to be influential here, too; on the interaction between the liturgy and the Gospels see O. Michel, 'Evangelium', *RAC* 6 (Stuttgart, 1966), coll. 1142-45.

[58] Williams, *Change and Decline* (above, ch.4, n.45), pp.246-53, the section entitled 'The Cult of the Episode.' For Claudian see Friedrich Mehmel, *Virgil und Apollonius*

pagan and Christian. And so, as often, it proves difficult to distinguish what is specifically Christian in the common literary culture of late antiquity.

The Old Testament Poets

The treatment of the narratio

The New Testament poetry is characterized by the increasing incorporation of interpretative material into the biblical narrative and the consequent breakdown of the norms of epic poetry. By the time of Arator the individual episodes of the Bible are treated as disparate units to be provided each with its own commentary. The development of the Old Testament poetry is very different.[59] Juvencus and the Heptateuch poet are comparable in many respects. But thereafter the similarities between the two traditions are slight. The Old Testament poets do not permit interpretation to predominate over literal narrative. The principle of epic detachment is maintained. Instead of resolving the biblical text into a large number of self-contained episodes, the poets strive to view the text synoptically as a unity. *Narratio* no longer serves principally the purpose of persuasion, but is an end to be pursued for its own sake. The difference between the two traditions is the difference between the *narratio* of forensic oratory and the *narratio* of the epic poet.[60]

In what follows I shall attempt to substantiate these introductory remarks. The poets will be treated successively. Passages will be selected that illustrate the development of the traditions and the particular qualities of the individual poems. Then a number of characteristic procedures will be isolated to demonstrate the manner in which the biblical text is recast as refined poetic *narratio*. I begin with the Heptateuch poet.

Rhodius: Untersuchungen über die Zeitvorstellung in der antiken epischen Erzählung, Hamburger Arbeiten zum Altertumswissenschaft 1 (Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag, 1940), pp.106-32. Cf. Cameron (above, ch.4, n.19), p.265; Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.164; Wolfgang Kirsch, 'Strukturwandel im lateinischen Epos des 4.-6. Jhs.', *Philologus* 123 (1979), pp.40-41.

[59] Cf. Kartschoke (above, ch.4, n.2), p.85: "der Weg von Juvencus bis Arator ist ebenso weit wie der von Cyprian zu Avitus, nur ist die Richtung verschieden." He sees the New Testament paraphrase as concentrating on the *sensus spiritalis*, the Old Testament on the *littera* or *historia* (p.97).

[60] For the applicability of the concept of *narratio* to epic poetry see Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.70, 489 and 501. In the last passage he quotes Servius' division of the *Aeneid* into *invocatio*, *propositio* and *narratio* (commenting on *Aen.* I 8).

In the case of the *Heptateuchos* the ambition of the poet to produce a faithful metrical version of the Bible militates against the manipulation and changes of emphasis required to secure a satisfactorily unified narrative. Simple chronological connectives of the form *haec inter*, *interea*, *iamque*, *ilicet* illustrate the poet's relative unconcern with temporal or logical continuity. Nevertheless, the *Hept.* is in some respects a precursor of future developments in the Old Testament epic. The account of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (Judg. 11,34-39; *Ju* 441-60) will illustrate some of the poem's characteristics. The story is one that appealed directly to a fifth-century audience, the willing self-sacrifice of a young virgin for her father.[61] The influence of contemporary hagiography is clearly detectable in the poet's account (especially 453-60). To this extent the passage is not entirely typical. Few Heptateuch passages appealed as immediately to a contemporary audience. But the emphasis on moral edification, though especially marked in the present passage, can be found throughout the narrative sections of the *Hept.*

> Revertenti autem Iepthae in Maspha domum suam, occurrit unigenita filia cum tympanis et choris: non enim habebat alios liberos. (35) qua visa, scidit vestimenta sua, et ait: 'heu filia mi, decepisti me, et ipsa decepta es: aperui enim os meum ad Dominum, et aliud facere non potero.' (36) cui illa respondit: 'pater mi, si aperuisti os tuum ad Dominum, fac mihi quodcumque pollicitus es, concessa tibi ultione atque victoria de hostibus tuis.' (37) dixitque ad patrem: 'hoc solum mihi praesta quod deprecor: dimitte me ut duobus mensibus circumeam montes, et plangam virginitatem meam cum sodalibus meis. (38) cui ille respondit: 'vade.' et dimisit eam duobus mensibus. cumque abiisset cum sociis ac sodalibus suis, flebat virginitatem suam in montibus. (39) expletisque duobus mensibus, reversa est ad patrem suum, et fecit ei sicut voverat, quae ignorabat virum.

sed dum regreditur, dum laudis nuntius ipse est
et sequitur longa veniens victoria pompa,
filia, quae patrios servabat sola labores,
occurrit blandumque canit cum congrege turba
et levis erecta consurgit ad oscula planta:
quam pater ut vidit, constrictos scindit amictus
et mala cernentes in fletum concitat orbes.
'heu fatis funesta meis victoria! votum
hoc potius hostile fuit! quo filia curris,
quo ruis? extremum nobis, quod te adloquor, hoc est.
nam dum signa movens dominum munimina posco,

[61] For a discussion of the passage see Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.149. I quote the biblical text from the Vulgate, the only Latin version available to me for Joshua and Judges.

victima facta deo sanctas sisteris ad aras.'
at virgo, secura sui mortisque beatae,
blandius exultat interque pericula ludit,
quin etiam exorat, sua sit sententia certa
neu dubitet haereatque parens, et <parca>[62] precatur
tempora, quis valeat lacrimis lugere iuventam.
adnuitur mensesque duo praestantur ovanti.
ergo aderat praescripta dies genitorque sacerdos
virgineam domino mittebat in aethera mentem.

Within individual episodes such as the story of Jephthah's daughter the *Hept.* already begins to show those qualities which will characterize the mature biblical epic of Avitus. Brevity dictates the exclusion of unnecessary details. The aetiology that ends the biblical passage can be excluded as a cultural Hebraism, of little interest to the poet's readers.[63] Of the individual speeches that make up the dialogue between Jephthah and his daughter only one is retained in direct speech (448-52; 11,35), and that much elaborated. The speeches of Jephthah's daughter (11,36-37) are either incorporated into the narrative (453-54) or represented in indirect speech (455-57). Extraneous details (*montes ... cum sodalibus meis*, 11,37; cf. 11,38) are eliminated and the repetition of the original considerably reduced. The phrase *duobis mensibus* occurs three times in Judges (11,37-39), only once in the *Hept.* (458 *mensesque duo*). In its other two occurrences it is replaced by generalized equivalents (*<parca> ... tempora*, 456-57; *praescripta dies*, 459).

The amplifications introduced by the poet almost all concentrate attention on the mental state and emotions of the protagonists: epithets (*ovanti*, 458), adjectival phrases (*secura ... beatae*, 453), verbal abundance in the form of poetic periphrases (for weeping, 447 and 457) and synonymic amplification of verbs (*exultat ... ludit*, 454; *dubitet haereatque*, 456), and the ecphrastic detail of line 445, a direct borrowing from Juvenal (VI 507). The poet's concern with moral edification is evident in the construction of the Jephthah episode as a whole. Jephthah's victory is described in quite

[62] The bracketed words are missing in the manuscripts. Peiper supplies *et parca*, Mayor (above, ch.4, n.138), p.218, *sed parva*. Note that in lines 456 and 449 *h* makes position, but not in line 450 (cf. Peiper, *index metricus*, p.345, Best [above, ch.4, n.124], p.22, n.1); for the *correptio* of the diphthong ae in *haereat* see above, n.44.

[63] For such cultural Hebraisms see Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.108-13, under the headings 'Romanisierung' and 'Entjudaisierung.' The problem they present is often an aesthetic one. Cultural Hebraisms disrupt the stylistic unity of the *Hept.* by introducing material ill-suited to epic, an offence against the classical notion of *decorum*.

general and colourless language:

> in ferrum Iephthea ruit dominumque precatus
> grandia vota vovet, multum dolitura parenti,
> ilicet ut, quisquis primus redeuntem adisset,
> victima perpetuo fieret condigna tonanti.
> his actis procedit ovans ac milite lecto
> signa movet hostesque fugat, quos caede cruenta
> conficiens propere bis denas subruit urbes. (*Ju* 434-40)

The narration is rapid. Clauses are short and syntactically uncomplicated; their content is largely contained in the staccato rhythm of temporally undifferentiated verbs (*ruit ... vovet ... procedit ... signa movet*[64] *... fugat ... subruit*). Only the vow itself, as the one detail indispensable to the succeeding narrative, receives any emphasis. But even here the use of indirect for direct speech indicates its subordinate nature. The inclusion of the phrase *multum dolitura parenti*, which has no equivalent in the original, lends to Jephthah's vow the quality of a prophecy whose inevitable fulfilment the reader expects with some confidence. His satisfaction is not long delayed. Jephthah recognizes the consequences of his vow in a speech (448-52) that responds to the earlier passage of indirect speech (434-36). He speaks with tears in his eyes (447; cf. *multum dolitura*, 435), and recognizes that he has bound himself to the sacrifice of his daughter in a line (452) that paraphrases the language of his original vow (cf. especially *victima ... fieret ... tonanti*, 437, and *victima facta deo*, 452). Other verbal parallels complete the picture.[65] The relationship between the two passages is of prophecy and fulfilment.

With the return of Jephthah the narrative slows. A single sentence made up of two tricola (441-45) provides the syntactic framework for the static tableau described. The three temporal clauses, the first two with anaphora of the temporal conjunction, prolong the action and give it a slow-motion quality. By contrast with the undifferentiated masses of the triumphal procession (*longa ... pompa*), the first word of the main clause, *filia*, focuses our attention on the figure who will be at the centre of the narrative from now on. The scene is a joyful one, Jephthah's triumph and his affectionate greeting from his only daughter; it is brought to life before our eyes (the quality of *evidentia*). The daughter's gesture of

[64] The periphrasis has the quality of a single verbal expression; cf. Virgil, *G.* III 236 and *Hept. N* 319, *Ju* 188 and 451.

[65] *Grandia vota vovet* (435): *votum / hoc potius hostile fuit* (448-49); *signa movet* (439): *signa movens* (451).

kissing her father is the culmination of the description, the third member of a tricolon crescendo. As often, a reminiscence of a pagan poet supplies the particularizing visual detail, her standing on tiptoe, that the poet's concentration on the universal validity of the biblical narrative would otherwise tend to exclude. The irony of the situation is that his daughter's affectionate greeting can only cause Jephthah profound grief, expressed in the emotional outburst that follows (446-52). But if the father moves from joy to grief, that grief is transcended by his daughter's rejoicing, expressed in the final section of the passage (453-60). By a complementary process of paraphrastic abbreviation and expansion – exclusion of extraneous details and incorporation of pious amplifications – Jephthah's daughter is represented as willingly, even joyfully, submitting to her fate. The final line of the passage (460), a christianized periphrasis for killing, points the moral of the tale: chastity and devotion (*virgineam ... mentem*) find their reward in heaven (*domino mittebat in aethera*).[66] The daughter's willing self-sacrifice is represented as a triumph that exceeds any that can be gained by military means (cf. *ovanti*, 458; *ovans*, 438).

The poet's reworking of the biblical narrative is designed to enhance its affective force. Like the episode of Isaac and Rebecca, discussed in the previous chapter, the story of Jephthah's daughter becomes a morally edifying vignette; the tone is that of Christian hagiography or popular romance. But, unlike the New Testament poets, the Heptateuch poet does not abandon the character of narrator to react directly to the events he is describing. Exclamation, apostrophe and rhetorical question are almost entirely confined to passages of direct speech in the *Hept.* (as here, 448-50).[67] Nor does the poet make explicit use of characteristically Christian interpretations or teaching. Even the commonplaces of Old Testament exegesis, the soteriological explanations of the Flood and Exodus, are only

[66] For other passages in which periphrases for dying incorporate Christian notions of heavenly life see *G* 1104-1107 (cf. Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.117-18), 1485 (Herzog, p.139, n.320), 1498, *N* 660-61, *Ju* 2. For eternal life and Christian Salvation in general see *E* 776, 1304, *D* 183-84, *Jo* 193-94, 473.

[67] The only examples in narrative passages are: rhetorical question, *E* 558-59; exclamation, *E* 474-76, *Ju* 129; apostrophe, *G* 1404, *Jo* 9, *Ju* 465 (cf. Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.145-46). Apostrophe is primarily a technique of poetic *variatio* in the passages cited. A further indication of the poet's detachment is his avoidance of the protreptic first-person plural in narrative passages (only *G* 965, *L* 30). Non-affective modes incorporated by the poet into his text include comparative for direct statement (*Jo* 319-20) and the occasional use of the hypothetical mode in legal prescriptions (*G* 341-42, *L* 176-77, 270).

allusively referred to by the poet.[68] He is anxious to avoid an overtly didactic tone, which would detract from the poem as a work of entertainment and edification. Thus in the present passage there is nothing specifically Christian, unless it be the high estimation of virginity. At the same time, the poet's careful articulation of the passage to bring out its moral content and his skill in varying the pace and fullness of the narrative to throw into relief the central issues are techniques that were to be employed on a much larger scale in the *S.H.G.* of Avitus.

Also typical of later developments in the Old Testament epic is the use of the rhetorically developed speech to highlight crucial points in the narrative. In the present instance the pathos of Jephthah's speech is heightened by affective figures of speech and Virgilian reminiscences (448-50).[69] In other instances it may be the cogency of the arguments that is enhanced. A case in point is the speech of Caleb to the Israelites when their scouts' report causes them to despair of ever entering the Promised Land (Num. 14,6-9; *N* 380-400). After a preliminary summary of the content of the speech in indirect statement (376-78), the speech proper falls into two halves. Only the second half of the speech in the *Hept.* (390-400) bears any relationship to the original; it amplifies on the fertility of the Promised Land and the support God will provide. The first half calls on two traditional rhetorical arguments, the argument *a persona* (380-87),[70] 'the scouts were chosen for their trustworthiness; why should they now be disbelieved?', and the argument *a causa* (387-89), 'what reason did the scouts have to deceive their fellows, with whom they shared every danger?' Both arguments seem intended primarily to lend rhetorical polish to Caleb's speech.

Claudius Marius Victorius' treatment of the story of the tower of Babel will demonstrate the characteristics of the *Alethia* and its position in the Old Testament tradition. The passage is too long to quote in full: 88 lines, on a conservative estimate (III 211-98). The Heptateuch poet takes 16 lines (*G* 387-402) to tell the same story. This in itself is characteristic of a trend in the Old Testament epic towards fewer and longer *narrationes*. Little of the account depends directly on the Genesis text; only the building of the tower itself relies

[68] For the Flood see *G* 224, 295 (Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.141, n.331); Exodus, *E* 540-42, *N* 206-207.

[69] Line 450 is a conflation of two Virgilian passages, *Aen.* II 520, *aut quo ruis* (cf. *Aen.* V 741 and X 811), and VI 466, *extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est* (cf. Peiper *ad loc.*).

[70] Specifically *a natura animi*; cf. Lausberg (above, ch.2, n.40), vol. 1, pp.204-205. In the speech Caleb associates his own credibility with that of the rest of the scouts.

to any degree on biblical detail (237-46 – Claudius Marius Victorius takes their decision to use bricks rather than quarried stone as evidence of their self-reliant arrogance). Two rhetorically elaborated speeches present the basic conflict: the first (III 216-37), a conflation of two speeches in Genesis (11,3 and 4), anticipates the imminent dispersal of Noah's descendants as the population increases; by building a tower they hope first to assure themselves of eternal fame, *aeternam factis extendite famam* (III 232). In the second speech (III 247-61), God denounces the undertaking as presumptuous, prompted by the sin of pride (especially III 258). Neither speech derives anything but its theme from the biblical account. The motive given for building the tower depends on a single detail in Genesis (11,4, *faciamus nobis nomen antequam dispergamur in faciem omnis terrae*). The further detail that pressures of population would in any case soon necessitate a dispersal of Noah's descendants is missing in the biblical text. But it is a natural inference, suggested perhaps by the similar explanation for the parting of Abraham and Lot (Gen. 13,6). Its inclusion improves the logical consistency of the biblical narrative. It provides the causal connection between the genealogy of the sons of Noah, interpreted as a vast growth in population, and the reason given in the Bible for the construction of the tower, the people's desire to make a name for themselves before their imminent dispersal. The concern to present a logically consistent narrative is typical of the poet. In this light the passage already quoted in chapter 5[71] as a summary of the omitted genealogy of Noah's sons (III 211-12), *cum multiplicata creando / cuncta Noë suboles terras implesset Eoas*, takes on added significance. The verb *implesset*, which we might otherwise be tempted to dismiss as hyperbole, must be understood in its literal sense. It was precisely because the land of Shinar was fully inhabited that its inhabitants feared dispersal and therefore built the tower of Babel.[72]

[71] Above, p.121.

[72] The same point is made in the following lines (213-14) with the aid of a number of stylistic devices. The restriction of available land and the consequent need to disperse over the earth are expressed antithetically (*artos ... agros : per varias orbis partes*; *decrescere : spargenda*); the antithetical cola are linked by assonance (of *-ar*: *Sen*aar ar*tos ... var*ias ... par*tes sp*argenda). But the rhyme *artos ... agros* and paronomasia *decrescere cerneret* set line 213 off as a separate unit, to which the following line presents the resolution; a resolution which the gerundive, *spargenda*, portrays as inevitable, hence anticipating the outcome of the episode. For other anticipatory passages in the *Alethia* see I 142-43, II 209, III 57-59. Only once is a passage introduced that raises expectations contrary to the outcome of an episode (II 203-207). The passage describes the consolation Adam and Eve derived from their sons. It immediately precedes the story of Cain and Abel.

After God's speech of condemnation, the poet describes the confusion of tongues and subsequent dispersal of the population. Once again his version owes little to the biblical account (Gen. 11,8 and 9) but the theme. The confusion of tongues is described in the manner of an Ovidian metamorphosis (262-71).[73] Claudius Marius Victorius concentrates on the psychological effect of the transformation. When the builders try to communciate with each other they can only produce unintelligible noises. It is quite Ovidian for a transformation to be manifested in the act of speaking or to occasion difficulty in communication.[74] By a natural progression this confusion of tongues causes the people's dispersal. Again the poet is concerned with logical continuity. The breakdown of language destroys all natural kinship; men now associate with those whom they can understand. The idea is expressed in an antithetical and chiastic *sententia*: *perit cognatio tota, / gentem lingua facit* (273-74). Biblical narrative is reinterpreted as ethnography. This concern with the development of human society is typical of the *Alethia*. Many of the details are derived from the tradition of Genesis exegesis, but its formulation owes more to Lucretian didactic, especially the account of human history in *De Rerum Natura* V 783-1457.[75]

The passage of interpretation that concludes the episode of the tower of Babel (III 285-98) illustrates a further characteristic of the *Alethia*. In it the poet attempts to demonstrate that the dispersal of the nations was not only a punishment, but also an act of kindness (*munus*, 286).[76] Because of it the danger of bloody civil discord caused by a few rabble rousers was reduced, while the confusion of tongues ensured that no one would long for the relatives he had left behind. Such interpretative passages often follow a section of narrative and comment on its significance or refute objections to its cogency. It is in such passages that the rhetorical devices of persuasion – apostrophe, rhetorical question, exclamation and the protreptic first-person

[73] Ovid's influence on the account of Creation in the *Alethia* is discussed by Carlo Pascal, 'Sopra alcuni passi delle Metamorfosi ovidiane imitati dai primi scrittori cristiani', *RFI* 37 (1909), pp.2-3. For reminiscences of Ovid elsewhere in the *Alethia* see Maurer (above, ch.4, n.128), pp.93-98, and Ferrari (above, ch.4, n.147), pp.66-71.

[74] For difficulties of communication occasioned by metamorphoses or metamorphoses in the act of speaking see *Met.* I 637-38, 745-46, V 669-70, VIII 717-18, XIII 567-69, XIV 497-98, 522-23.

[75] For the Lucretian character of the *Alethia* see Thraede, 'Epos', coll. 1028-29, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.lv. Maurer (above, ch.4, n.128), pp.107-11, and Ferrari (above, ch.4, n.147), pp.67-68 and 72-74, list Lucretian reminiscences.

[76] This is not the only passage in which the poet justifies the mercy of God's actions. Cf. *Alethia* II 284ff., and Homey (above, ch.4, n.129), pp.163-64 and 187.

plural – are most frequently used. But it is typical that the poet's interpretative expansions are concerned with the historical sense of the text. His concern is to explain difficult points without recourse to allegory and the events of the New Testament. Passages of interpretation are especially frequent in book I, where the Christian hexaemeral tradition is at the poet's disposal. The methods employed are those of grammatical *enarratio*; they must have been familiar to Claudius Marius Victorius in his professional capacity, but would have also independently affected the tradition of biblical exegesis on which he relied.[77] This is not to say that the poet was unaware of Christian allegory. He shows his familiarity with the broad outlines of typology, ending each book with an episode that is interpreted in the light of Christian soteriology and eschatology.[78] But within books the allegorical sense is not obtrusive. The poet's pose of epic detachment is somewhat qualified by the didactic nature of his work, but the teacher rarely gives way to Christian preacher.[79]

One passage that shows an unusually heightened affective tone is a comparison of the crime of Cain with those of the serpent and first parents:[80]

heu facinus! quid non miseros furiosa libido,
quid non ira recens, odium vetus, improba cogant
quae vexant gentes scelerum certamina, tantum
si facinus fecit, qui sic, quod sanctior ipso
frater erat, doluit? nulla est iam culpa parentum.
et ne aliquam saltim vel de serpente querelam
quod morimur quisquam superesse existimet, ante
coepimus occidi. pro quantum prima propago
criminis adiecit! mortem pro nomine poenae
inductam mundo vix dignum est dicere: fecit
impietas scelus esse novum. peccata parentes
tantum morte luent: tu poenas morte solutas
et pro morte dabis, peior serpente nefando.

[77] Claudius Marius Victorius was a *rhetor*, not a *grammaticus*, but he would naturally be well informed of the methods of the more elementary level of education. For the influence of *enarratio* on Christian exegesis see Marrou, *Saint Augustin* (above, ch.2, n.81): e.g. (p.530, n.2), "Si l'on veut à tout force définir l'homélie par l'un des genres littéraires antiques c'est à l'explication de texte pratiquée par le *grammaticus* qu'il faut la rattacher."

[78] The events in question are the expulsion from Paradise, Flood, and destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. Homey [above, ch.4, n.129], pp.182-89; *Precatio* 108-11).

[79] The protreptic first-person plural is found in the following passages: I 17, 76, 78, 193-95, 202, 314, 329-30, II 233-34, 307, III 13-16, 132, 781.

[80] On the affective tone of this passage see Homey (above, ch.4, n.118), pp.130-34; he identifies the passage as an *indignatio*, and describes it as a kind of παρέκβασις.

240 ille etenim letum suasit, non intulit; at tu
auctor primus eris caedis. (II 227-41)

The use of comparison to order the argument is typical of Claudius Marius Victorius. The similarity of Cain's crime with those of the serpent and Eve has already been suggested in the preceding narrative (II 224-25, *illo dirum de fonte venenum, /* quo serpens materque, *bibit*). The interpretative passage develops that comparison as a means to emphasize the enormity of Cain's action. It is the worst crime of the three. The proof (237-41) depends, as Homey observes,[81] on an element of verbal trickery; the repetition[82] *morte ... morte ... morte* implies that Abel's death at the hands of Cain and the 'death' suffered by the first parents in their expulsion from Paradise are equivalent. Only then can it be argued that Cain's crime, the voluntary infliction of death on another, is the worst of the three. The syntactical form of the passage is typical of the figure *comparatio*. The contrasted cola usually contain prominent mention of the persons on whom the comparison centres, often at the beginning of the sentence. Thus Quintilian (IX 2,100) quotes an example from the *Pro Murena* (9,22): *vigilas* tu *de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas,* ille *ut eo quo contendit mature cum exercitu perveniat:* te *gallorum,* illum *bucinarum cantus exsuscitat.* In a similar fashion the comparison in the *Alethia* proceeds: *... parentes ... : tu ... ille ... : at tu ...* (237-41).

The reproach of Cain begins with a further rhetorical device, the *argumentum a minore* (227-31):[83] Cain's crime was bad enough, though his motive was slight; how much worse would be the crimes committed under the impulse of real passion: *furiosa libido / ... ira recens, odium vetus, improba ... / quae vexant gentes scelerum certamina?* It is at first sight unclear whether the argument is used to

[81] Homey, pp.132-34 (cf. p.134, "Auf Grund dieser *akrobatischen Argumentation* überragt Kains Verbrechen selbst das der Schlange bzw. des Teufels").

[82] For *amoenae repetitiones* in Homer and Virgil see Macrobius, *Sat.* V 14,6. The repetition in the *Alethia* serves an argumentative rather than a decorative purpose. The figure of paronomasia is also involved: *morte luent ... morte solutas.* The sense of the phrase *poenas morte solutas* is not absolutely clear. *Morte solutas* may be hypallage for *morte solutus* (Cain's punishment was exile, not death; cf. II 292-98) or it may simply be the equivalent of *aeternas.* In either case the expression is obviously chosen to preserve the balance with the preceding and following phrases, *morte luent ... morte solutas ... morte dabis.*

[83] For another example of the *argumentum a minore* in the *Alethia* (also in the form of a rhetorical question) see I 314-17. Macrobius (*Sat.* IV 6,1) defines the *argumentum a minore* as follows: *cum aliquid proponitur quod per se magnum sit, deinde minus esse ostenditur quam illud, quod volumus augeri.*

emphasize the enormity of Cain's crime or of those motivated by real passion that will follow. The latter would normally be the case; the argument *a minore* is designed to emphasize the greater in comparison with the lesser. But in the context of a reproach of Cain, the reader might reverse the normal interpretation and understand the comparison as evidence of Cain's disproportionate cruelty. It is only later (241-52) that the problem is resolved. For the poet the murder of Abel was not an isolated incident, but the precursor of all subsequent acts of violence. The *argumentum a minore* does, indeed, emphasize the enormity of the greater crimes that will follow the crime of Cain. But it thereby emphasizes the enormity of Cain's crime also, for that act was the progenitor of all subsequent acts of violence. The hypothetical crimes referred to in general terms in lines 227-29 are made explicit in the later passage (241-45). The first passage anticipates and prepares the ground for the poet's subsequent argument.[84]

Such concern with the continuity of his argument is typical of the poet. It is found in narrative as well as interpretative passages, within and between episodes.[85] The poet's handling of Gen. 2,24 - 3,1 is a case in point. The biblical text is made up of three distinct statements only loosely connected. Claudius Marius Victorius unites the three statements into a single conditional sentence by modal variation (I 387-92). The biblical *et erunt duo in carne una* (2,24) becomes the apodosis of the conditional sentence (387-88):

iam una duos in carne manere
aeternam pariter vitam ducentibus esset.[86]

[84] It is tempting to suppose that the poet's own experience of disturbed conditions in contemporary Gaul led him to rate Cain's crime, which he represents as the precursor of all warfare, as worse than the Fall. Homey (above, ch.4, n.129), p.134, n.25, notes that in so doing he goes beyond the normal attitude of Christian exegesis. Such personal experience would explain the unusually emotional tone of the passage.

[85] For other such easy transitions see I 355-60, II 339-47, III 464-74, 630-39. A further symptom of the poet's concern with logical continuity is his use of purpose clauses (I 522-28, II 257-64, 427, III 236-27, 377-82, 657-62, 671-72, 680-81) and causal connectives (III 472-73, 730-32; cf. Hudson-Williams, 'Notes' [above, ch.5, n.2], p.310) to introduce expansions into the text.

[86] *Esset* = ἐξῆν (cf. Schenkl, *index grammaticae et elocutionis*, p.489, *s.v.*). For the antithetical *iunctura, una duos*, cf. I 246 (*unum ex diverso*), 252 (*totum mole sub una*), 450 (*occultissima praesens*), III 32 (*conpar discordibus*), 82 (*sensim properante*), 141 (*dubii ... certa*), 189 (*pietate nocens*), 195 (*veris falsa*), 259 (*consensu varii*), 332 (*toto te solum*), 517 (*sacra profano*), 728 (*tardum velox*), 744 (*totum de nihilo*); for oxymora I 71 (*errore perito*), II 131 (*igne gelato*), 144 (*cari ... veneni*), 274 (*sano ... furore*), III 224 (*viva morte*), 664 (*dulci ... pavore*), 767 (*siccoque liquore*). Claudius Marius Victorius shares the contemporary taste for antithesis, paronomasia and paradox.

There follows a parenthesis (389-95), which is presented by the conjunction *nam* as an explanation of the interpretative expansion *aeternam ... ducentibus*:

> nam dum terrarum vitiis et labe carerent,
> divinis viguere animis, nullius egeni
> quas dabat orbis opes: non quippe obnoxia morbis
> corpora gestabant cupidi nec ventris alumna;
> tantum in deliciis cibus et quod postulat usus,
> nondum erat auxilium vitae[87] propriumque vigebat
> inmortale animae.[88]

The content of the passage bears little similarity to the biblical text (Gen. 2,25), *erant ambo nudi ... et non confundebantur*. The biblical text seems to be understood allegorically: the fact that the first parents needed no clothing implies freedom from bodily wants and ailments altogether. The passage is linked with the preceding by the causal conjunction *nam*; but it also prepares for what follows. A summary of the state of primal innocence is particularly appropriate immediately before the narrative of the Fall. The reader is already aware that that innocence is transitory, alerted by the conditional *esset* (388). There follows the protasis of the conditional sentence (395-97), which by the logic of the sentence heralds the expulsion from Paradise and the loss of innocence:

> ni serpens dira veneno
> maioris stimulata mali dissolvere legem[89]
> talibus incautam suasisset fraudibus Evam.

The poet has expanded the simple *serpens ... dixit ad mulierem* of the original in order to characterize the two protagonists (*dira veneno / maioris stimulata mali*; *talibus incautam ... fraudibus*) and to suggest the nature of Eve's crime, her disobedience (*dissolvere legem*, cf. 418-19). No attempt is made to build up suspense. It is presupposed that Eve will succumb. The sentence analyzed looks back to the creation of Eve and forward to her Fall. It includes a description of the happy state of innocence that will thereby be lost. The whole is incorporated

[87] For the punctuation of this passage see Hudson-Williams, 'Notes' (above, ch.5, n.2), p.300.

[88] The adjective *inmortale* is used nominally; cf. Schenkl, *index grammaticae et elocutionis*, p.491, *s.v.*, who glosses τὸ ἀθάνατον.

[89] I 418-19 will serve as a commentary on this pasage: *sed quia legis in his* (sc. *pomis*) *suberant praescripta severae / plus quam vipereo mortem allatura veneno. Veneno / maioris ... mali* is, therefore, to be explained as a "poison possessing more than usually evil powers."

in a single, logically coordinated sentence that replaces the three separate statements of the biblical text.

Despite the distinctive qualities of the *Alethia*, it is clearly within the tradition of Old Testament poetry, to which it makes a significant contribution. In his treatment of the *narratio*, Claudius Marius Victorius reinforces tendencies already evident in the *Hept.* Individual episodes are expanded by the incorporation of freely developed speeches, ecphrastic detail and narrative techniques derived from pagan epic. The narrative remains at the literal level; the moral content of the episodes is intensified, but Christian allegory is rarely overt. At the same time, the poet strives to unite individual episodes into the single *narratio* theoretically expected of epic poetry. Ultimately, in book III, the episodic nature of Genesis gets the better of him. But his concern for logical continuity between episodes and his overriding theme of the development of human society suggest a concerted effort to counteract the episodic discontinuity of the Old Testament narrative that would otherwise disrupt epic unity. The problem was one to which Avitus was to find a more satisfactory, if more radical, solution. On the other hand, Claudius Marius Victorius' consistent imitation of Lucretian didactic and his incorporation of philosophical and anthropological arguments and ideas derived from traditional Genesis exegesis lend the *Alethia* a distinctive quality which sets it apart from other Old Testament epics.[90]

In many respects the *S.H.G.* of Avitus marks the culmination of the Old Testament poetry of late antiquity. In the incorporation of rhetorically elaborated speeches and in the handling of episodes Avitus continues and intensifies trends already evident in the earlier poets. Direct speech occupies 22.4% of the *S.H.G.* (average length of speech 14.6 lines), as opposed to 17% (average length 14.6) of the *Alethia*, and 17.4% (average length 7.8) of the narrative sections of the *Hept.* The story of the Flood (Gen. 6,1 - 9,17) had occupied 115 lines in the *Hept.* (*G* 229-343) and 270 lines in the *Alethia* (II 348 - III 59). In the *S.H.G.* it occupies 658 lines, the whole of book IV. We

[90] Homey (above, ch.4, n.129) cites many examples of philosophical ideas and terminology in the *Alethia*. Didactic features in the poem include the proposal of alternative explanations for a problematic passage (I 100-101, 163-65, 190-97, 424-33, II 221-24, 356-65, 489-92, III 121-38, but cf. Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo* I 641-44), the use of the first-person singular of the poet as a technique of persuasion (I 449, 464-89, II 141, III 523), and the self-conscious awareness of digressions (I 405-406, III 210).

have been used to think of each individual biblical episode as a separate *narratio*. But epic theory spoke of everything but the *invocatio* and *propositio* as a single *narratio*.[91] In Avitus this ideal unity is approached. At most the poem is made up of three episodes, Creation, the Fall and the expulsion from Paradise, which form a coherent whole (books I-III), the Flood (book IV), and the Exodus from Egypt (book V). But even these three episodes are united in the poet's conception by their common soteriological theme.[92]

The techniques used by Avitus to consolidate the biblical narrative of the Flood or the Exodus from Egypt into a unified and properly articulated *narratio* are reminiscent of the Heptateuch poet, although on a much larger scale. Extensive use is made of direct speech to point up moral conflicts and intensify the emotional force of the narrative. Avitus is careful, too, to maintain the proper relationship of parts to the whole. Thus in book V introductory matter, secondary to the main narrative, but indispensable, is given in summary fashion, its subordinate nature indicated by choice of tense and the inverted *cum* construction.[93] Moses' and Aaron's first interview with Pharaoh (41-126) presents, as it were, a preview of the conflict to come. It ends with God's reassurance and promise of victory. The Israelite leaders rejoice and give thanks (125-26). There follows a summary account of the first nine plagues, which is not allowed to bulk disproportionately large in the whole *narratio* (91 out of 721 lines, as opposed to 84 out of 506 in the *Hept.*). With the account of the passover and the death of the Egyptian firstborn, the narrative begins to move to its climax in the crossing of the Red Sea, and destruction of the Egyptians. The biblical narrative is reworked in the form of a traditional epic battle narrative. This is the conflict between good and evil towards which the whole book has been building.

Because of the scale of the *narratio* in the *S.H.G.* and the organic nature of Avitus' reworking of the biblical text, it is difficult to select passages that do justice to his poetic techniques. But a pair of passages from book IV, the Flood, will indicate some characteristic features. The first describes the sending of the dove from the ark (Gen. 8,7-8 and 10-11):

temporis ut spatio senior collegit inertem

[91] Above, n.60.
[92] Above, p.123.
[93] Above, p.126.

575 iam potuisse satis corvum se reddere claustris,
ignarus tardi reditus causaeque morandi,[94]
ne fors innexis fessum consumpserit alis
iunxerit et cunctis pereuntibus unda recurrens:
protenus albentem mittit de sede columbam.
580 illa memor iussi rapido petit arva volatu
paciferaeque videns ramum viridantis olivae
decerpit mitique refert ad condita rostro.
tali legatus firmavit foedera simplex
indicio purumque pius sic comperit orbem. (IV 574-84)

In the Bible a dove is sent out on three occasions, in the *S.H.G.* only twice. The third journey of the dove (Gen. 8,12) is omitted and the first journey transposed to precede the raven's mission. In this way the comparison between the dove and raven is brought into greater prominence. The non-return of the raven carries special significance for Avitus; detained by the carrion left behind by the Flood, the bird forgot its loyalty to its master, just as the Jews broke faith with their Lord and treacherously reneged on the compact of the Law (565-73). The moral of the comparison between dove and raven is drawn in the last two verses of the passage (583-84). The dove keeps the compact in its simple faith (*firmavit foedera*, 583; cf. *foedera legis / rupisti*, 572-73) and is rewarded by finding a cleansed and peaceful world, as opposed to the raven/Jews who break faith and are condemned to the impure world of the flesh. The soteriological implications of the dove's mission are implicit rather than overt. This is typical of Avitus' method. Christian typology is rarely openly invoked in the body of the work. The poet prefers to specify the soteriological implications of his narrative in prefatory or concluding remarks to individual books.[95] He makes only moderate use of rhetorical techniques of protreptic; thus in the account of the raven's non-return the Jews are apostrophized. In narrative passages avoidance of such techniques is particularly marked; where they are used, it is to emphasize an event of particular importance.[96] In general, Avitus

[94] *Causaeque morandi* is a Virgilian locution (*Aen.* IV 51, *causasque ... morandi*) incorporated by synonymic amplification (of *tardi reditus*).
[95] I 1-13, III 362-425 (books I-III form a single unit), IV 639-58, V 1-18 and 706-19. In this he follows the practice of Claudius Marius Victorius. Avitus follows the broad lines of Christian exegesis: for example, Adam prefigures Christ (I 160-69 and III 21-22), the tree of knowledge of good and evil the cross (III 20-23); the Flood and crossing of the Red Sea are types of Christian baptism (IV 616-20, 648-58, V 706-19) and the ark a type of the Christian Church (IV 493-501).
[96] II 162-65 (rhetorical question and apostrophe – follows first speech of the serpent to Eve), 217-19 (exclamation – Eve wavers before temptation), 378-84 (exclamation,

maintains the persona of detached narrator in accordance with the traditions of epic and Old Testament poetry. This is not to say that the affective force and moral content of the narrative are not enhanced wherever possible. The present passage is a case in point. Unlike Claudius Marius Victorius, who employs Christian exegesis for its own sake to explain difficult points in the text, Avitus' explanation of why the raven does not return to the ark, an explanation already found in the *Alethia* (II 499-500), contributes to the moral lesson of the passage as a whole.[97] When Noah speculates that the raven may have become weary and have drowned (*S.H.G.* IV 577-78), we know he is wrong. The poet has already given the correct reason for the raven's continued absence. Under the circumstances Noah's sympathetic concern can only reinforce our disgust at the raven's disloyalty.

The second passage from Avitus' account of the Flood describes the ending of the rain. It corresponds to Genesis 8,2: *clausi sunt fontes abyssi, et cataractae caeli: et prohibitae sunt pluviae de caelo*:

> frenantur tandem pluviae, resplenduit aether
> redditur et caelis vultus. sol ipse reductus,
> sed non inventis, quis reddat lumina, terris:
> tantum luxit aquis. tristis videt aequora fulgor
> quamque breves radios admotas frangit in undas,
> tam consumendis fervens ac proximus instat.
> nec minus et patuli terrae clauduntur hiatus
> quaeque prius vomuit letali ex ore fluenta,
> obicibus propriis constricta resorbet abyssus. (IV 527-35)

First one or two points of paraphrastic technique. The biblical *clausi sunt fontes abyssi* is transposed (533-35) to follow Avitus' account of the ending of the rain. The two remaining biblical clauses introduce the passage and are expanded by *interpretatio* into a tricolon (527-28, *vultus*). The tricolon is not rhetorically elaborated in any way; it is apparently a simple, objective enumeration (note particularly that the cola all begin with a verb and are syntactically parallel). But, in

apostrophe, rhetorical question – Lot's wife looks back), V 340-45 (apostrophe and rhetorical question – release of the Israelites), 644 (rhetorical question – Pharaoh orders advance into bed of Red Sea), 676-79 (exclamation and rhetorical question – Pharaoh realizes disaster imminent).

[97] For the belief that the raven was detained by the carrion left behind after the Flood see Lewis (above, ch.4, n.161), pp.39, n.3, and 146, n.5, and Prudentius, *Dittoch.* 11-12. Prudentius (*Dittoch.* 192) applies the dove : raven contrast to the distinction between Christian and pagan.

fact, the one non-biblical clause, *resplenduit aether*, prepares the way for Avitus' amplification. It introduces the notion of brightness and hence the return of the sun (*sol ipse reductus*, 528). Avitus is not simply concerned here with the probability of the narrative – it is, of course, a natural inference that the sun helped to dry the waters. Immediately before the passage quoted, the Flood is said to have covered the earth not for the biblical "forty days and nights" but for forty nights only:

> et iam vicinum pulsabant umida caelum
> iamque *quater denis* manabat *noctibus* imber
> compleratque necem;[98] nec iam quod tolleret, ultra
> mors habuit pressitque natantia funera pontus. (IV 523-26)

The darkness of the heavens is thereby associated with death; the return of light marks the promise of life; and the sun itself becomes the personified agent of God's mercy in its fervent desire to disperse the waters of death. Although the passage is infused with notions of Christian Salvation, they never break the surface of the narrative or force themselves on the attention of the reader. In this respect, the passage is typical of the Old Testament as opposed to the New Testament poetry. The pose of epic detachment continues to be respected. Nor is the association of sunlight and rain without further significance. The narrative of book IV ends with the rainbow, sunlight refracted by rain, the symbol of God's covenant with the descendants of Noah and allegorically with Christians saved by baptism.

One further characteristic of the *S.H.G.*, a characteristic it shares with the *Alethia*, can be illustrated from the passages quoted: the reliance on comparisons and contrasts to articulate the narrative, be it raven compared with dove, or sun and light with rain and darkness. Unlike Claudius Marius Victorius, however, Avitus rarely uses the comparison as a form of persuasion. An exception is III 70-73; the poet indignantly rebukes the first parents for attempting to hide from God:[99]

[98] Avitus uses the imperfect and pluperfect tenses and the adverb *iam* to indicate the subordinate nature of these preliminaries and throw into prominence the reversal that follows.

[99] The passage is an expression of *indignatio*. The poet uses the rhetorical figures of paronomasia (*videre ... videare*, 70-71; *lumina lucem*, 72), rhetorical question, antithesis (*debilis ... sanum*) and *interpretatio* (72-73) to give affective force to the passage.

nolis cur ipse videre,
cum videare palam? solem non fuscat amoenum,
si depressa gravem formidant lumina lucem
debilis et sanum visus non sustinet orbem.

The argument is elliptically expressed, but depends on the implied similarity between God and the sun (i.e. it is an *argumentum a simili*):[100] the sun's light is not diminished if men's eyes cannot stand to look at the sun; similarly, God's power of vision is not diminished if men avoid his gaze.

Comparisons and similes are frequently used by Avitus as a means of amplification. Particularly characteristic is the negative form of comparison.[101] Thus the spring of Paradise (Gen. 2,6) is described by comparison with silver and crystal, which it excels in beauty (I 252-53):

talis in argento *non* fulget gratia, tantam
nec crystalla dabunt nitido de frigore lucem.

The search for poetic excellence

The New Testament poetry is a hybrid genre in which the norms of epic are qualified by the demands of Christian exegesis and instruction. By contrast the Old Testament poets retain to a much greater degree their fidelity to the epic tradition. This distinction is evident in the manner in which each tradition handles the *narratio*. But the importance of poetic values in the Old Testament poetry is all-pervasive. The stylistic features and categories of thought in which the biblical content is expressed derive from pagan epic, as transmitted by the common literary culture of late antiquity.[102] In the rest of this chapter those qualities of the Old Testament epic will be discussed which serve to bring the biblical text into conformity with contemporary standards of poetic excellence.

The principle of *variatio* is one that distinguishes biblical from

[100] For the *argumentum a simili* see Quintilian V 10,73 (cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* IV 5,1-6).

[101] I 151-53, 295-96, II 367-70, V 71-75, 187-89, 405-409, 437-41. The passages combine characteristics of the *hyperbole per comparationem* (cf. Quintilian VIII 6,69), and the *comparatio per contrarium* (*Rhet. ad Her.* IV 46,59).

[102] It is because of the common literary culture maintained by the schools that Christian poetry of late antiquity shares many characteristics with contemporary poetry of whatever religious orientation; cf. Thraede, *Studien* (above, ch.1, n.11), p.25, n.22, and Fontaine, review of Donato Gagliardi, *Aspetti della poesia latina tardo-antica: linee evolutive e culturali dell'ultima poesia pagana dai 'novelli' a R. Namaziano* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1972), *REL* 51 (1973), p.404.

classical aesthetics. The Bible makes no attempt to avoid repeating the same word; by classical standards, as interpreted by late antiquity, such repetition was a stylistic fault. Thus Macrobius (*Sat.* V 15,15) comments on Virgil's catalogue of Italians (*Aen.* VII 647ff.) that Virgil introduced variation (*variat*) into the catalogue, "avoiding repetition like a disgrace or a crime" (*velut dedecus aut crimen vitans repetitionem*).[103] The principle can be seen at work in all the biblical poets. It is perhaps most marked in the *Hept.*, because of the peculiar difficulties of giving a close version of the Heptateuch text. Characters that appear frequently are variously identified. Thus Abraham is *propheta* (*G* 440), *procer* (*G* 444), *pater* (*G* 455), *senex* (*G* 460) and *vates* (*G* 486); Noah is *senex* (*G* 283), *vates* (*G* 294), *senior* (*G* 300) and *propheta* (*G* 302). Verbs, too, that are often repeated in the biblical text are varied by the poet. The verb *iudicare* is frequently used of the Israelite judges in the book of that name. It is found only once in the poetic version of Judges, *rector iudicat* (473). Elsewhere the poet uses equivalent expressions and periphrases: *celsa sublimem sede locavit*[104] (sc. *spiritus domini*) (149), *regnat* / . . . *iura ferens* (209-11), *regnum* . . . *possidet* (400), *accepit* . . . *moderator habenas* (469), *sceptrumque tenet* (475), *iudicium* . . . *obtinet* (481). But it is the legal passages of the Heptateuch that are most in conflict with the principle of *variatio*. Here it is a question of syntactic rather than lexical repetition. The individual codes that make up the legal corpus of the Pentateuch employ a limited range of syntactical procedures for commands and prohibitions. The poet takes care to vary the syntactical regularity of his original. Thus chapters 20 and 21 of Exodus[105] use only the future indicative, imperative and jussive subjunctive for commands, *non* + the future indicative for prohibitions. The Heptateuch poet's repertoire is much wider. Besides the biblical constructions he uses a whole series of periphrastic

[103] The principle of *variatio* had in late antiquity become applicable to prose as well as verse. It depended on a large vocabulary of synonyms, originally a characteristic of poetic language. The poet was not restricted to standard, current usage (*propria verba*), as the prose writer was, but could employ unusual and archaic words, foreign borrowings, neologisms and tropes. For instance, Manu Leumann, 'Die lateinische Dichtersprache', *Mus. Helv.* 4 (1947), p.134, lists as poetic synonyms for the *proprium verbum, mare*: *aequor, altum, sal, fluctus, marmor, caerula, pontus* and *pelagus*. It is interesting that Juvencus uses all of these except *sal* and *caerula* (and adds *freta* and *profundum*); Sedulius uses *aequor, salum, fretum, marmor, pontus, pelagus* and *profundum*.

[104] For this expression compare *G* 1314 *celsa sublimem sede sedentem*. For variations on *iudicare* elsewhere in the *Hept.* see *E* 91, 698, 704-705, *L* 150-51, 153-54.

[105] For the structure of Exodus 20-24 see Eissfeldt (above, ch.5, n.29), pp.212-19.

expressions for commands: *fas* (*sit*) + infinitive (*E* 784, 866), *debeo* + infinitive (794), *convenit* + infinitive (806), *possum* + infinitive (811), and *cura tenet* + accusative and infinitive (868-69), as well as the gerundive *solvendum* (831). A similar range of possibilities is open to the poet in prohibitions: *nec* + present subjunctive (757-59), *ne* + imperative (777-80), *ne* + perfect subjunctive (779), and the periphrases *non sineris* + infinitive (787-88), *non licitum* + infinitive (800-801) and *nequaquam ius est* + infinitive (802), in addition to the biblical construction. A further possibility is to convert the prohibition into a positive command. Thus 20,3, *non habebis deos alienos coram me*, becomes *me tantum tua corda colant* (757); 20,25, *non aedificabis illud* (sc. *altare*) *de sectis lapidibus* becomes *ferrum linque procul* ... (786).

Of particular interest is the use of Christian allegory to expand the poetic lexicon. Thus already for Juvencus the cross is not only *crux*, but also *arbor* (IV 662), *lignum* (IV 654, 681) and *stipes* (IV 700). Rhetorically, *arbor*, *lignum* and *stipes* are examples of the trope synecdoche (raw material for finished object); and tropes are characteristic of poetic idiom. But the choice of language is suggested by, and in turn suggests to the reader, the familiar Christian equation between the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the cross. Aesthetic and devotional purposes here coincide. A similar use is made of Christian allegory by Claudius Marius Victorius in referring to the ark. It is described as: *speciem mundi minoris* (II 424), *auxilium* (II 435), *latebrae* (II 439 and 513), *carcer vitalis* (II 441, cf. *carcer noctis*, II 549), *cella* (II 500), (*sacra*) *claustra* (II 500, 519).[106] The language is chosen to suggest two commonplaces of Christian exegesis: the ark as symbol of the human body, and the ark as prefiguration of the Church, which protects within its confines the Christian community. The word *carcer* suggests both interpretations: in its negative sense, the soul's confinement in the body, in its positive sense, the life-giving confinement of Christians in the Church.[107]

[106] The Heptateuch poet uses only *antrum* (*G* 286) and *cumba* (*G* 299) of the ark, in addition to *arca*. Avitus uses *machina* (IV 240), *aedes* (IV 251 and 305), *tectum* (IV 255), *claustrum* (IV 266, 342, 398, 510, 586), *moles* (IV 292 and 308) and *cava moles* (IV 503), *massa* (IV 315), *mobile pondus* (IV 505), *natans lignum* (IV 542), cf. IV 324-26, where the ark is compared with the *lignum vitale crucis* by which the Christian is *servatus ab undis*, and, in imitation of the *Alethia*, *vitalis carcer* (IV 401).

[107] I owe this interpretation to Homey (above, ch.4, n.129), pp.56-73, who understands the expression *speciem mundi minoris* as a reference to the theory of the microcosm (human body) and macrocosm (universe). But the phrase can also be understood literally: the ark contains a world in miniature. Ample evidence for the Christian exegesis of the ark is given by Homey, *loc. cit.*

As the quotation from Macrobius suggests, it is especially important to observe the principle of *variatio* in poetic catalogues. Such catalogues and catalogue poetry are of venerable antiquity, going back to the earliest Greek literature. The poets of late antiquity, however, favour not only the full-scale epic catalogue but enumerations of every kind.[108] Exhaustivity is regularly preferred to selectivity. It might be thought that such material would be difficult to handle in verse and therefore would be avoided. In fact, it was just this difficulty presented by catalogues and lists that made them desirable subjects for versification. The more difficult and pedestrian a subject, the better it was suited to display a writer's talents. The principle is stated by Sidonius Apollinaris in the second half of the fifth century (*Ep.* VIII 10,2), but it had been common literary currency for at least a century:[109]

> moris est eloquentibus viris ingeniorum facultatem negotiorum probare difficultatibus et illic stilum peritum quasi quendam fecundi pectoris vomerem figere, ubi materiae sterilis argumentum velut arida caespitis macri glaeba ieiunat.
>
> It is the practice of good writers to demonstrate their talent by the choice of difficult material and to exercise their skilled pen, the ploughshare of their fertile imagination, as it were, where barren subject matter lacks substance, like the thin soil of parched earth.

Biblical poets avoid some of the more extreme contemporary manifestations of this attitude because of the limits put on their freedom of invention by their dependence on the biblical text, but they are not immune from prevailing literary dogma. For this reason the Heptateuch poet retains details of the biblical text that by modern standards at least seem unpoetic and might readily be excluded as

[108] Cf. Cameron (above, ch.4, n.19), p.286, for lists in Claudian. As he notes, the same tendency can be seen at work in Ovid and Lucan, cf. Williams, *Change and Decline* (above, ch.4, n.45), pp.213-18. For lists in Virgil see Heinze (above, ch.5, n.97), pp.442-44; for geographical enumerations in Sidonius see Loyen (above, ch.4, n.47), p.25; for Prudentius and Paulinus, Salvatore Costanza, 'Il catalogo dei pellegrini: confronto di due tecniche narrative (Prud., *Per.* XI 189-213; Paolino di Nola, *Carm.* XIV 44-85)', *BStudLat* 7 (1977), pp.316-26.

[109] Sidonius is here speaking of oratory, but the principle applies equally well to verse. For the metaphor of the pen as a ploughshare see Thraede, *Studien* (above, ch.1, n.11), pp.93-113. The passage is quoted by Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1925), p.433, n.2, who compares Ruricius, *Ep.* I *sicuti in ieiuno atque otioso caespite magis strenuitas cultoris apparet* (*CSEL* 21, 357.13-14). For a similar attitude a century earlier see Ausonius, *Ep.* XIX, 266,26-30 Prete (praising Paulinus for his virtuosity in handling non-Roman names; cf. Witke [above, ch.4, n.32], pp.7-9 and 56-57).

extraneous to the narrative. The poet is thereby able to demonstrate his facility in handling apparently unpromising material.

Many of the lists in the *Hept.* are geographical, tribes or cities that figure in the early history of the Israelites.[110] A case in point is God's promise of land to Abraham (Gen. 15,18-21):

> semini tuo dabo terram hanc a flumine Aegypti usque ad flumen magnum Eufraten, Caeneos, et Cenezaeos, et Celmonaeos, et Chetteos, et Ferezaeos, et Rafain, et Amorrheos, et Euheos, et Chananaeos, et Gergesaeos, et Iebusaeos.

> nam qua Niliacis gaudet nunc incola terris
> et celer Euphrates Syrorum praenatat urbes,[111]
> Cenaeos populos Cenezaeosque tenebunt,
> Chedmoneos, Chettos iuncta cum gente Phereza
> et Raphana, cui manus est Iebusa cohaerens,
> dilectaque sibi pellentur sede Chananni.
> quin et Amorraeus, Gergesso extrusus amico,
> semianimis possessa dabit venientibus arva. (*G* 549-56)

The exotic sound of such geographical names particularly appealed to contemporary taste. Augustine speaks of the place-names in Amos as "like lights that embellish its style."[112] For this reason the poet retains the biblical tribes of the Genesis text, while varying the syntactical regularity of the original. *Variatio* is evident in the poet's handling of the verb *dabo*, the connectives and the tribal names of the original. The verb is replaced by three separate main verbs, each with a distinct subject: *tenebunt* (551), *pellentur sede* (554), and *possessa dabit* (556). The simple connectives of the original give way

[110] Cf. *G* 366-76, 382-86, *E* 26-27, 154-56, 537-39, *N* 547-50, *Jo* 263-69, 375-86. Such passages are often omitted by the later poets as unnecessary detail.

In what follows I quote the European text (*E*) of the *Vetus Latina*, as constituted by Fischer (above, ch.4, n.125). The Heptateuch poet apparently used a text that did not contain *et Euheos*; most manuscripts of the Vulgate and at least one of the *Vetus Latina* omit this reading (cf. Fischer's *apparatus criticus, ad loc.*).

[111] I follow the majority of the manuscripts against Peiper, who reads *orbes* (cf. Best [above, ch.4, n.124], p.7).

[112] *Doctr. Christ.* IV 7,17. Augustine goes on to admire the accompanying *variatio*: *deinde verba, quae his adiunguntur locis,* decentissime variantur. Compare Symmachus' praise (*Ep.* I 14,4) of the catalogue of fishes in Ausonius' *Mosella* (75-149): *unde illa amnicorum piscium examina repperisti quam nominibus* varia *tam coloribus, ut magnitudine* distantia *sic sapore, quae tu pigmentis istius carminis supra naturae dona fucasti?* According to Loyen (above, ch.4, n.57), p.25, such names are for Sidonius "un 'trésor' de mots d'une grande puissance de suggestion, aux sonorités harmonieuses ou rudes, bien faits pour l'ornement du vers." But the Heptateuch poet does not affect such bare catalogues of names as are found in Sidonius (e.g. *C* V 208-209: *Rhenus, Arar, Rhodanus, Mosa, Matrona, Sequana, Ledus, / Oltis, Elaris, Atax, Vacalis,* ...).

to a variety of expedients in the *Hept.*: the connectives *-que* (551 and 554) and *et* (553), asyndeton (*Chedmoneos, Chettos*, 552), a prepositional phrase (*iunctaque cum gente Phereza*, 552), relative clauses (549-50 and 553) and a participial clause (*Gergesso extrusus amico*, 555). The tribal names are mostly retained in the accusative plural, but variety is provided by the periphrases *gente Phereza* (552) and *manus ... Iebusa* (553) and the singulars *Amorraeus* and *Gergesso* (555 – the trope synecdoche).

Not all the lists retained in the *Hept.* are geographical. The biblical description of Aaron's jewelled breastplate (Exod. 28,17-20) is the only one of the sacral prescriptions contained in chapters 26-28,35 of Exodus that is given detailed treatment by the poet (*E* 1098-1103). The gorgeous visual detail and play of contrasting colours the passage affords were very much in accordance with prevailing literary taste.[113] At the same time, the list of unusual precious stones provided the kind of learned material much loved by the poets of late antiquity. Grammarians had long viewed the poets, and Virgil in particular, as masters of every branch of secular knowledge.[114] It was the grammarians' task to elucidate the learned references found in the poets. This attitude inevitably had its effect on contemporary poetry. Displays of learning were part of the poet's stock in trade. This erudition often, but not invariably, took the form of lists. The material was most commonly geographical, but might include more out-of-the-way information on, for instance, building materials (*G* 390-91, 394-95 and *E* 249-50), insects (*E* 286-87), birds (*L* 31-33), alcoholic drinks (*N* 72-79) and the millstone (*D* 118-19). In the later poets learned detail is often derived from biblical exegesis; sacred learning is used in much the same way that profane learning was used by pagan poets. Thus the list of natural defences given wild animals for self-preservation, which is found in both the *Alethia* (I 347-55)

[113] For chromatism in the poetry of late antiquity see Gagliardi (above, n.102), *passim*. Fontaine, 'Unité et diversité du mélange des genres et des tons chez quelques écrivains latins de la fin du IVe siècle: Ausone, Ambroise, Ammien', in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident*, Fondation Hardt, Entretiens 23 (Vandoeuvres: Fondation Hardt, 1977), p.469, compares contemporary polychromatic mosaic techniques and the *opus sectile*, and Ramsey MacMullen, 'Some Pictures in Ammianus Marcellinus', *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964), pp.436, 445-47 and 451, describes a similar taste for polychromy in dress. In the present case the unusual names of the gems would also be considered an adornment to the poetry. For similar examples see Claudian, *Epithalamium* 87-91, Sidonius, *C.* XI 17-26, and Nonnus, *Dion.* XVIII 67-86. For other references to precious stones in the *Hept.* see *G* 59, *E* 1053.

[114] Cf. Marrou, *Saint Augustin* (above, ch.2, n.81), pp.105-24. Loyen (above, ch.4, n.47), pp.7-9 and 16-17. The *Saturnalia* of Macrobius is pervaded by this attitude.

and *S.H.G.* (III 320-22), is already applied to Genesis exegesis by Ambrose. It is ultimately derived from pagan natural philosophy, but is put to new uses by Christian exegetes.[115]

Dracontius' *Laudes Dei* is the most extreme example among the biblical poems of the tendency of late antiquity to amplify by enumeration. Such lists are generally used in the Creation story to enhance the impression of the splendour of God's creation. Elsewhere they may serve to persuade as well as to praise. A point that can be made by a single illustration is made all the more forcefully by a series of illustrations.[116] Thus Dracontius censures the folly of the first parents, who tried to hide from all-seeing God (I 499-530; Gen. 3,8).[117] The point is amplified by means of a comparison; God is like a metalworker who can predict the behaviour of metals:

> non fugit artificem chalybis, quae massa caminos
> sustineat, quae missa semel fornace liquescat,
> exedat rubigo latens quae viscera ferri.[118] (I 502-504)

In a similar way, it is implied, God has foreknowledge of the behaviour of his creation, man. But, not content with a single comparison, Dracontius lists other professions that involve the power of prediction: the prospector (505-506), fisherman (507-508), sailor (509), farmer (510-11), water diviner (511-13) and snake charmer (514-18).[119] The accumulation of examples lends force to the poet's argument. But it also serves to lead into a digression on the possibility of human foreknowledge (519-30), in which Dracontius combines a citation of Mt 16,2-4 on weather signs with a list of other

[115] For the doctrine in Christian exegesis see Robbins (above, ch.4, n.147), pp.5, 38, 51 and 56-57, and Maurer (above, ch.4, n.128), p.42, who compares Ambrose, *Hexameron* V 4,46; for parallels in the pagan philosophers see Homey (above, ch.4, n.129), pp.23-28, and in the poets Lucretius V 862-63, Ovid, *Hal.* 1-9, and Oppian, *Cyn.* IV 25-38. Claudius Marius Victorius uses the doctrine as evidence of the wonderful economy of God's creation.

[116] Quintilian (VIII 4,9-14 and 26-27) includes both *comparatio* and *congeries* among modes of amplification. Dracontius' penchant for lists is evident in book III of the *L.D.* where he enumerates twelve examples of self-devotion on the part of men and cities and six examples of feminine courage (III 261-523).

[117] A commonplace of exegesis; cf. *Alethia* I 458-59, *S.H.G.* III 67-73.

[118] I quote the text as transposed by A. Hudson-Williams, 'Notes on the Christian Poems of Dracontius', *CQ* 41 (1947), pp.98-99. For *massa caminos* (502) Vollmer compares Persius V 10 *coquitur dum massa camino*, for *fornace liquescat* (504), Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 446 *chalybs vasta fornace liquescit*. The comparison of God with a human craftsman in his creation of man is traditional; cf. *Hept. G* 27 *in unguem*, Avitus, *S.H.G.* I 76-79, Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.544-46.

[119] Avitus' *S.H.G.* also contains a passage on the theory and practice of snake-charming (II 303-16).

natural phenomena that foretell rain, based on Virgil, *G.* I 373-92.[120] Virgil, writing what purports to be a manual for farmers, not only lists the animals that foretell rainy weather, but also describes the aberrant behaviour which the farmer should be on the lookout for. For Dracontius, concerned only to demonstrate the possibility of human foreknowledge, it is sufficient to list the animals that serve as weather signs:

> bucula rana sues formicae corvus hirundo
> praedicunt pluvias nec clam praesagia fallunt. (I 527-28)

The asyndetic list of semantically related words (I 527) is a common feature of late Latin verse, particularly frequent in Dracontius.[121] Curtius treats the practice as symptomatic of late antique mannerism.[122] Interestingly, the examples quoted from classical poetry are from Lucretius and from the hexameter works of Horace, that is, from poetry with affiliations to philosophical literature rather than from epic. It looks as though the employment of such verbal accumulation in the post-classical epic is another instance of the breakdown of distinctions of genre that is characteristic of late antique literature.[123]

Enumerations and learned, especially topographical, material are often the occasion for the incorporation of visual detail into the narrative. The Heptateuch poet seizes the opportunity offered by the mention of the river Jordan at the beginning of Deuteronomy (*ultra flumen Iordanen*, Deut. 1,1) to evoke a peaceful picture of the river moving gently to the sea:

> Iordanem ad fluvium populus promoverat arma
> qui virides inter saltus dum lubricus errat,

[120] Dracontius, like Virgil, lists animals that show by their behaviour that rain is imminent. Only pigs (*sues*) are mentioned by Dracontius and not by Virgil. Hence Arevalo's emendation *grues* (cf. *G.* I 375). But Vollmer compares Virgil, *G.* I 400 (a sign of good weather) and Pliny, *N.H.* XVIII 88,364.

[121] It is a form of συναθροισμός/*coacervatio*; cf. Quintilian VIII 4,27 and IX 3,48; Rutilius Lupus I 2; 4.12-20 Halm. In medieval theory the figure is known as *articulus*; cf. Arbusow (above, ch.5, n.127), pp.59-60. For the use of the figure in Dracontius see Langlois, 'Dracontius' (above, ch.4, n.158), col. 255, and Provana (above, ch.4, n.169), pp.94-95.

[122] Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), pp.285-86 and 291.

[123] Cf. Fontaine, 'Unité' (above, n.113), pp.440-45, 447-52 and 466-67. Such accumulation is already finding its way into epic in the first century A.D. in Silius (XI 563-64) and Statius (*Theb.* X 768 – the passage is quoted by Curtius). The practice may owe something to early Latin epic (cf. Leumann [above, n.103], p.120). For its continuation in the medieval period see Harry E. Wedeck, 'The Catalogue in Late and Medieval Latin Poetry', *M&H* 13 (1960), pp.3-16.

eximiam Hiericho fluctu labente reliquit
et sequitur pontoque dehinc miscetur aperto. (*D* 2-5)

With the exception of the reference to the city of Jericho, the details given by the poet are generalized, and might be applied to any river. They are, in fact, ill-suited to the Jordan. The poet depends on ecphrastic tradition, not any specific geographical knowledge.[124]

Insignificant detail of every kind may give rise to ecphrastic expansion. In Juvencus, to return to the New Testament poetry for a moment, the simple instruction *vade ad mare et mitte hamum* (Mt 17,27) becomes:

en maris undisoni rupes quae prodit in altum
scandatur tibi summa, Simon, hamusque profundo
stamine saetarum conexus praecipitetur. (III 390-92)

The cliff jutting out into the sea has no sanction in the original. It is a poetic construct, a contamination of lines of Virgil and Statius.[125] In this case reminiscence of pagan epic restores to the biblical narrative something of that actuality of detail that tends to be excluded by the paraphrastic procedure of abbreviation. The details that are chosen for ecphrastic amplification from the biblical text are those which evoke reminiscences of pagan epic or lend themselves readily to the mannered treatment favoured by contemporary taste. The census of the Levites (Numbers 3,14-39) is not a promising subject for versification. In fact, it is treated in summary fashion by the Heptateuch poet (*N* 21-30). But the biblical passage identifies the stations occupied by the Levites in camp by reference to the points of the compass (Num. 3,23, 29, 35 and 38: *ad mare*, the west; *in africum*, the south; *ad aquilonem*; and *ab oriente*). These details are amplified by the poet:

prima legit pelagus; alia se porgit ad austrum;
tertia praegelidas aquilonis respicit auras.
at qua prima rubet venientis flamma diei,
maxima conspicui ponunt tentoria vatis. (*N* 27-30)

[124] The river Jordan flows into the Dead Sea, of which *ponto ... aperto* (*D* 5) is a rather inaccurate description; cf. Becker (above, ch.4, n.124), p.45, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.110. A similar expression is used in *Jo* 103. Such geographical inaccuracies are not infrequent in the epic tradition; cf. on Virgil Heinze (above, ch.5, n.97), p.481, on Sidonius Loyen (above, ch.4, n.47), pp.20-25. The function of such references is primarily aesthetic, and is not compromised by a certain inexactness of expression.

[125] Virgil, *Aen.* X 693 *rupes ... quae prodit in aequor* and Statius, *Ach.* I 198 *undisonis in rupibus*. On the passage see Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.152.

The passage shows exactly that combination of uniformity of outline and inconcinnity of detail which appealed to contemporary taste. Such a regular framework allowed the poet to demonstrate in miniature his virtuosity in handling apparently unpromising material.[126] In the present case the principle of *variatio* dictates the unequal length of the four components. Ecphrastic detail is incorporated into the two larger units, the periphrases for north and east. In each case the poet exploits the etymological sense of what is in the Bible only a directional formula ("towards the north wind," "from the rising [sun]"). The poet has slight interest in the topographical details for their own sakes, but he welcomes the opportunity they afford for poetic ornamentation.[127]

In the later Old Testament poets such expansions are incorporated into the narrative even without sanction of a specific biblical reference.[128] Claudius Marius Victorius' description of the animals coming together to the ark from all four corners of the world (i.e. the four compass points, *Alethia* II 445-50) is based on the biblical instruction to Noah *ex* omnibus *animantibus ... tolle* (Gen. 7,2). The poet goes on to explain (451-54) that it was God's power (*numine motae*, 453) that impelled the animals to collect together in this way. Thus the poetic commonplace serves the purposes of Christian edification and the glorification of God. Similarly, Avitus' treatment of the Flood amplifies on the extent of the inundation with ecphrastic detail. The rise of the waters is described in the Bible thus (Gen. 7,19): *et aquae praevaluerunt nimis super terram; opertique sunt omnes montes excelsi sub universo caelo*. In the *S.H.G.* this becomes:

ergo ibant undae, tellus subducitur omnis,
515 collibus inpositae vicerunt edita lymphae.
delituit tectus ponto tum piniger Othrys,

[126] The four compass points are found also in Ovid, *Met.* I 61-66, Lucan I 15-18, Seneca, *Ph.* 285-89, Prudentius, *Psych.* 830-33, Rutilius Namatianus I 57-60 and *Carm. de Res.* 168-70 (cf. also in the *Hept.*, *G* 464-65). The months and seasons of the year also provided appropriate material for versification (cf. *Anth. Lat.* 117, 352, 394, 490a, 639, 665, 874a Riese – months; 116, 566-78, 864 Riese – seasons). On the seasons in medieval Latin see Arbusow (above, ch.5, n.127), pp.116-17. For miniaturization as characteristic of the poetry of late antiquity see Fontaine, 'Unité' (above, n.113), pp.440-45 and 451.

[127] For *N* 29 compare in particular *G* 376 *qua primum albentis prorumpit flamma diei*, *N* 648 *unde rubet ventura dies*, and *Jo* 407 *unde rubet croceum venientis flamma diei*; Claudian, *Phoenix* 5 *unde rubet ventura dies*.

[128] But *Alethia* III 403-405 (the points of the compass) is based on the biblical text (Gen. 13,14); cf. also III 33-34 (the seasons).

Parnasi vertex cautem non protulit altam,
ipsa cupressiferi latuerunt saxa Lycaei,
subductae rupes, aequatae fluctibus, Alpes,
omnibus exclusis totus iam denique mundus
axis et unda fuit. (IV 514-21)

Lines 514-15 fully convey the biblical sense. It is very much in Avitus' manner to preface to a poetic elaboration a straightforward version of the text to be amplified.[129] But not content with a simple *collibus* (515), corresponding to *montes* of the original, the poet enumerates four mountain ranges covered by the Flood. As we should expect, the principle of *variatio* is observed.[130] The geographical detail, compound epithets (*piniger*, *cupressiferi*) and Virgilian reminiscence (*saxa Lycaei*, *Ecl.* X 15) enhance the poetic quality of the passage. But by amplifying the magnitude of the Flood, Avitus also reinforces his larger Christian message. The *sententia* in which the description culminates, *totus iam denique mundus / axis et unda fuit* (cf. IV 528-30), is something more than a neat conclusion to the passage. For Avitus the Flood is nothing less than a return to the primal state of the world (cf. IV 160-63; Gen. 1,6-8) before the dry land was separated out. From this new beginning is to be born a new race of men, cleansed by the waters of the Flood (IV 600-17). The soteriological content of the passage depends on the completeness of the inundation. Every sign of land must be eliminated; even the highest mountains must be covered. Only then can it be possible for the new post-diluvial generation to return to the state of primal innocence that prevailed at the world's beginning.

Nothing is more characteristic of epic than poetic periphrases of time. Seneca the Younger already makes fun of this hackneyed poetic practice (*Apocolocyntosis* 2).[131] Such temporal periphrases are found in all the biblical poets.[132] In the *Hept.* the single words *mane*,

[129] Cf., for example, *S.H.G.* IV 527-28, discussed above, p.196-97.

[130] *Variatio* is observed in the verbs used (*delituit*, *non protulit*, *latuerunt* and *subductae*) and in the manner of referring to the mountain ranges (*piniger Othrys*, *Parnasi vertex*, *cupressiferi saxa Lycaei* and *rupes ... Alpes*).

[131] Cf. Ausonius, *Ep.* XIX (265.1-14 Prete), and Fulgentius, *Mitologiae* I, *praef.* (13.6-17 Helm). For astronomical references in such periphrases see Quintilian I 4,4.

[132] For such periphrases in Virgil see Heinze (above, ch.5, n.97), pp.366-70. They are much more common in Juvencus (cf. Thraede, 'Epos', col. 1023) and the *Hept.* than in the other biblical poems (but cf. *C.P.* III 219-21; *H.A.* I 879, II 414-15; *Alethia* I 134 and III 545; *S.H.G.* I 144-45, III 1-3, IV 585, 621-22, V 127-29, 265-66, 415-16, 424, 428-29, 581-83; *L.D.* I 206-207, 421-23). Eduard Haefliger, *Tag und Nacht bei den römischen Dichtern*, diss. (Luzern: Keller, 1903), discusses their use in Latin poetry up to the Hadrianic age. *Anth. Lat.* 579-90 contains a series of poetic periphrases for dawn.

vespere and *nocte*, as well as indications of the passing of time, are subject to elaboration. Thus Exodus 19,16, *iam advenerat tertius dies, et mane inclaruerat*,[133] becomes *cum prima ruborem / tertia luce dedit stellis aurora remotis* (*E* 742-43). The same procedure is found in the *S.H.G.* Book III begins with a temporal periphrasis based on Gen. 3,8, *ad auram post meridiem*:

Tempus erat, quo sol medium transcenderat axem
pronus et excelsi linquens fastigia centri
vicina iam nocte leves permiserat auras.
illis sed maior curarum volvitur aestus
ferventesque tenent male conscia corda dolores. (III 1-5)

Avitus has expanded the biblical indication of time by the use of Virgilian language: *tempus erat quo ...* (*Aen.* II 268), and *sol medium ... conscenderat ... orbem* (*Aen.* VIII 97). He thereby emphasizes the contrast between the serene description of late afternoon and the disturbed mental state of the first parents immediately after the Fall (cf. the adversative conjunction *sed*; the pluperfects, and the adverb *iam* [1-3], contrasting with the historic presents [4-5]). Ancient critics recognized that temporal periphrases could be used in this way. Servius on *Aen.* XI 183 quotes Asinius Pollio to the effect that Virgil's periphrases for dawn were always chosen with a view to their immediate context.[134] Avitus in the passage quoted gives similar contextual relevance to the biblical indication of time. It throws into relief the first parents' grief after the Fall.

It is but a short step from the incorporation of ecphrastic detail to the inclusion of fully-fledged ecphrases on biblical themes. The early books of the Old Testament are particularly rich in passages that are of central religious significance and lend themselves well to such elaboration: in Genesis the descriptions of Paradise, the Flood, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; in Exodus the crossing of the Red Sea, for instance.[135] Descriptions of warfare, for instance

[133] I quote the Vulgate text. The LXX reads ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γενηθέντος πρὸς ὄρθρον καὶ ἐγίνοντο φωναί κ.τ.λ.

[134] The passage is quoted by Heinze (above, ch.5, n.97), p.366.

[135] Paradise: *Hept. G* 50-63, *Alethia* I 223-51, *S.H.G.* I 193-257, II 1-13, *L.D.* I 180-205; the Flood: *Hept. G* 243-49 and 273-81, *Alethia* II 455-81, *S.H.G.* IV 429-92 and 557-62; Sodom and Gomorrah: *Hept. G* 661-66, *Alethia* III 747-54 and 763-81; Crossing of the Red Sea: *Hept E* 485-500 (cf. *D* 24-35, *Jo* 47-52). Avitus' and Dracontius' ecphrases of Paradise are introduced by the traditional form *est locus*, on which see Thraede, 'Epos', coll. 1029-30, Schippers (above, ch.4, n.153), pp.93-94, and Smolak, 'Die Stellung' (above, ch.4, n.167), p.385. For the formula χῶρος ἦν in ecphrases attributed to Libanius see 485.10 and 532.4 Foerster. The New Testament lends itself less readily to such ecphrases, but all three poets elaborate on the murder of

the battle with the four kings (Gen. 14,1-17), also are the subjects of ecphrases in the Old Testament poets.[136] This procedure often involves the reinterpretation of the biblical narrative to bring it into accordance with the norms of epic. The most thoroughgoing application of this principle is Avitus' account of the Exodus from Egypt and crossing of the Red Sea, which is developed into a full-scale epic battle narrative, complete with addresses by the two leaders to their troops (V 558-74 and 605-608) and descriptions of the arming and marching array of the forces (V 371-400 and 501-25). The narrative concludes with the description of the slaughter of the Egyptians. In accordance with epic tradition unusual forms of death are described (V 687-93). The last to die is Pharaoh (V 694-97).[137] In this way the theme of the whole book, the conflict between good and evil, is brought to a morally satisfying conclusion with the death of the 'Prince of Darkness' himself.

Within the ecphrases enumerations and learned detail continue to play a large role. Thus Claudius Marius Victorius' ecphrasis of Paradise contains a list of perfumes found therein:

> sed nec quod Medus redolet vel crine soluto
> fragrat Achaemenius, quod molli dives amomo
> Assyrius messisque rubens Mareotica nardo,
> quod Tartesiaci frutices, quod virga Sabaei,
> quodque Palaestinus lacero flet vulnere ramus
> aëra diverso cessant infundere sensu. (I 237-42)

The passage is suffused with exotic names and poetic reminiscences.[138] Alliteration of liquids and sibilants reinforces the sensuous

the innocents (Juvencus I 259-62 and 265-70; *C.P.* II 110-17 and 123-26; *H.A.* I 348-56), and Arator also seizes the opportunity offered by the story of Paul's shipwreck (*H.A.* II 1067-92).

[136] *Alethia* III 415-51, on which see Homey (above, ch.4, n.129), pp.98-114; for battle ecphrases in the *Hept.* see *E* 426-35, *N* 523-28, *Jo* 239-55, *Ju* 343-56 and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, p.153, n.384.

[137] See now Michael Roberts, 'Rhetoric and Poetic Imitation in Avitus' Account of the Crossing of the Red Sea (*De spiritalis historiae gestis* 5.371-702)', *Traditio* 39 (1983), pp.29-80. For Virgilian influence on this passage see Hudson-Williams, 'Virgil' (above, ch.4, n.5), pp.15-16. Other traditional devices included the division of the action by the formula *pars* (687) ... *alii* (691) (cf. Heinze [above, ch.5, n.97], pp.355-57, and *S.H.G.* IV 307-17, 476-84, V 645-49), and the insistence on the contrast between the Egyptians' gleaming armour and dark faces, which makes them particularly terrible to behold (cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* 43,6). Another ecphrasis that is Virgilian in inspiration is that of the felling of the trees for the ark (*Aen.* VI 179-82, cf. *Alethia* II 420-24).

[138] 237: Ovid, *Met.* XIII 584 *crine soluto*; 238: Ovid, *Met.* X 307 *dives amomo*; 238-39: Virgil, *Ecl.* IV 25 *Assyrium ... amomum*; 240: Virgil, *G.* II 117 *virga Sabaeis*; 241: Prop. I 1,13 *vulnere rami*.

effect thus created. The perfumes enumerated are found only separately in the natural world (hence the relevance of the geographical epithets); but in Paradise they are found together, incessantly pouring forth their scent (cf. 242-47). The association of provinces with their characteristic crops or exports is a *topos* of pagan poetry, here adapted to serve the purposes of Christian edification.[139] Such enumerative ecphrases are found also in accounts of Creation. For instance, the biblical reference to the production of vegetation (Gen. 1,12), which makes no mention of any specific plant, inspires Dracontius to describe the growth of the olive, bay and vine:

> herba virens prodit, it surculus omnis in auras
> et semper vestita comis frondescit oliva;
> omnia poma virens profert, non parturit arbor;
> linguae laurus honos solvit donanda poetis;
> torta per obliquos it vitis in orbe corymbos,
> verberat et palmes ramos fluitante flagello;
> vinea pampineos subarundinat ebria campos,
> munera laetitiae spondens pendentibus uvis,
> fluctibus[140] et variis redolent florentia rura. (I 167-75)

[139] Virgil, *G.* I 56-59 and II 109-35 are the most influential passages; for an example from the poetry of late antiquity see Sidonius, *C.* V 41-53. Claudius Marius Victorius imitates a phrase from the second of the Virgil passages, the first is quoted by Jerome, *In Ezech.* 27,7 (*PL* 25, 249C-250A); cf. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers* (above, ch.4, n.5), p.243. The passage in the *Alethia* implies a process of reasoning similar to the *argumentum a minore*: "these scents are splendid in themselves: how much more splendid they would be if united in a single location." For this process as a means of amplification rather than proof see Quintilian VIII 4,9-12; for a similar passage see Lactantius, *De Ave Phoenice* 79-82 (*CSEL* 27, 140): the phoenix collects scents from all over the world to build its nest. Ecphrases of Paradise, of course, owe a good deal also to the pagan commonplaces of the *locus amoenus* and the Golden Age; cf. Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), p.200, Smolak, 'Die Stellung' (above, ch.4, n.167), pp.384-85, and Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.196-97.

[140] Eugenius has *fructibus*, which seems to be supported by the biblical text. Vollmer understands *fluctibus* as *odoribus* (*index verborum*, p.351) and cites Lucretius IV 675 *unde fluens volvat varius se fluctus odorum*. (Vollmer, by a misprint, actually quotes IV 657, but clearly intends IV 675). The parallel is hardly convincing since in the Lucretius passage the defining genitive *odorum*, as well as the previous context, excludes all possibility of ambiguity. But the reading *fluctibus* can be defended. It is best understood as describing the physical appearance of the vines (cf. James F. Irwin, *Liber I Dracontii De Laudibus Dei*, diss. [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1942], *ad loc.*). Dracontius has already used river metaphors to describe that appearance in *fluitante* (172; cf. Sidonius, *C.* XXIV 74 *fluitantibus racemis*) and *subarundinat* (173). In the context, then, the metaphor implicit in *fluctibus* need cause no difficulty (for *fluctus* of the arrangement of objects see Manil. V 147 *in fluctum ponere crines*, *ThLL* VI 1, 947.52-53; the *Thesaurus* follows Vollmer in its interpretation

Rich in movement and visual detail as it is, the description evokes the luxuriant vegetation of the new world and anticipates the ecphrasis of Paradise that immediately follows (I 180-205).[141]

In the *S.H.G.* the creation of man is the subject of a lengthy ecphrasis.[142] Avitus gives an anatomically detailed account of the modelling of the human body. His description moves from head to toe in accordance with rhetorical precepts for the ecphrasis,[143] first the front (I 90-95) and then the back (I 96-113). Only then does he describe the transformation of the clay into flesh (I 114-20) and the animation of the body (I 121-27). The poet reveals a knowledge of anatomical theories of his day, especially in attributing to the activity of the spleen the regrowth of hair and nails (I 110-13).[144] The inclusion of such an anatomical catalogue at this point in the story of Creation is traditional in Christian hexaemeral exegesis (cf. Ambrose, *Hex.* VI 9,54-74; *CSEL* 32.1, 246.7 - 260.21).[145] In Ambrose the wonderful economy and beauty of God's creation is praised. This point is not made explicitly by Avitus, but no doubt a similar motive lies behind his account. At the same time, the systematic treatment

of this passage, VI 1, 947.31-32). At the same time, it helps to prepare the way for the description of scents that follows. They, too, are often described in language derived from fluid flow; thus *fundit*, 176. The word *fluctibus*, therefore, serves as a link between the visual detail of 171-74 and the perfumes of 176-77. The use of *fluctus* of fields of wheat is later recognized by Ekkehard IV (eleventh century) as a poetic cliché: *da viti gemmas, botros sibi dicito mammas; /* fluctus da segeti, *portum simulato quieti*, in his verse letter *Ymmoni fratri, post abbati, de lege dictamen ornandi*, 6-7. The text is printed in Edmond Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle: Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen Age* (Paris: Champion, 1924), pp.104-105.

[141] Note especially the verbs *frondescit* (168), *torta ... it* (171), *verberat* (172), *subarundinat* – apparently a coinage of the poet – (173), and the participial phrases *fluitante flagello* (171), *pendentibus uvis* (174), *florentia rura* (175). In addition to this list of plants Dracontius incorporates catalogues of geological formations (157-66), birds (246-54), animals (273-88), the diverse habitats of dangerous animals (304-16) and the distribution of precious stones and scents (317-28 – see above, n.139).

[142] Claudius Marius Victorius also lingers over the creation of man (*Alethia* I 204-12), but without the anatomical details. In Dracontius (*L.D.* I 340-48) it is the animation rather than the creation of the human body that the poet lingers over; cf. Schippers (above, ch.4, n.153), pp.9-11. *L.D.* III 692-715 (the reanimation of dry bones, Ezechiel 37,7-8) is a closer parallel.

[143] Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 12 (37.9-11 Rabe); Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* (69.12-17 Felten); cf. Hennig Brinkmann, *Zu Wesen und Form mittelalterlicher Dichtung*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), pp.65-66.

[144] On the ultimate origin of this theory and the sense of the phrase *lienis ... regula* see D. Kuijper, '*Lienis regula*', *VChr* 9 (1955), pp.50-60. Macrobius (*Sat.* VII 4,19-22) provides an interesting counterpart to the passage in the *S.H.G.*

[145] Roncoroni, 'L'epica biblica' (above, ch.4, n.159), p.308, compares also Lactantius, *De opificio Dei* 14,1-4 (*CSEL* 27, 48.19 - 49.7).

lends credibility to the story and contributes to the aesthetic qualities of the poem, at least as judged by the taste of late antiquity.

The practice of incorporating ecphrases and ecphrastic detail into a *narratio* is recognized by Quintilian and sanctioned by the example of Cicero.[146] Poets, to whom the principle of *utilitas* was less strictly applied, might introduce such passages with still greater freedom. Horace's warning against *purpurei panni* (*Ars P.* 14-18) was generally misunderstood in late antiquity.[147] The poetry of the period is replete with ecphrases; they were considered a particular poetic excellence.[148] The biblical poets share this contemporary taste. Ecphrases, in turn, were often thought of as a form of digression; that was, indeed, how Quintilian had treated them (IV 3,12-17). Digressions of any kind were capable not only of enriching the content of a *narratio*, but also of improving it stylistically, for according to rhetorical theory they were an adornment to a work of literature.[149] It is not surprising, then, that non-ecphrastic digressions, too, found their way into the biblical poetry.

Claudius Marius Victorius is the first Old Testament poet to make extensive use of such digressions. Books II and III contain lengthy passages[150] which, though located in the biblical narrative,

[146] Quintilian IV 3,12-13, who cites the example of Cicero's description of Sicily in the Verrine orations (IV 48,106 - 49,108).

[147] Sidonius, *C.* XXII 5; cf. Curtius, *European Literature* (above, ch.2, n.61), p.539, Loyen (above, ch.4, n.47), pp.114-15. Servius quotes the Horatian passage on *Aen.* X 653, which he classes as a *descriptio*. He insists, following Horace's precepts, that such *descriptiones* should be *aptas et raras*, but somewhat undermines the effect by quoting Horace, *Ars P.* 15-16, *purpureus late qui splendet unus et alter / adsuitur pannus*, with the explanation *sunt enim ornatui*. It is worth noting that late antique aesthetics were consistent. Purple patches were admired in dress also (MacMullen [above, n.113], pp.446-47 and 449-51).

[148] For the ubiquity of ecphrases in late Latin poetry see especially Gagliardi (above, n.102), *passim*.

[149] Cicero, *De Or.* III 53,203, *ab re* digressio, in qua cum fuerit delectatio, *tum reditus ad rem aptus et concinnus esse debebit*; Quintilian IV 3,15, *quae maxime iucundam et ornatam faciunt orationem* (speaking of ethical digressions, but repeated by C. Julius Victor, *Ars Rhetorica* XVII [429.8-9 Halm] of all digressions); Sidonius, *Ep.* IV 3,4, *interseritque tempestivam censura* dulcedinem, *ut lectoris intentionem per eventilata disciplinarum philosophiae membra lassatam repente* voluptuosis excessibus *quasi quibusdam pelagi sui portibus foveat*. Quintilian's definition of the digression (παρέκβασις) is *alicuius rei, sed ad utilitatem causae pertinentis, extra ordinem excurrens tractatio* (IV 3,14), i.e. any development that breaks the sequence of narrative. The qualification *sed ... pertinentis* would tend to be disregarded in poetry, since the purpose of poetry was to give pleasure. For the application of this theory to epic see Servius on *Aen.* X 653, where he speaks of a *descriptio per parecbasin facta*, which breaks the temporal sequence of the narrative.

[150] The second passage is specifically recognized by the poet as a digression (III 210), *sed redeo ad summam, qua sum degressus*. He here uses a formula for effecting the

owe nothing to the sacred text: II 90-196, discovery of metal, metalworking and other arts; and III 99-209, invention of writing, belief in astrology, divination and magic, and idolatry. The first is attributed to a conflagration, started when an arrow shot by Eve at the serpent who deceived her struck a spark from a rock. The conflagration melts the metals contained in the earth; they run out of the earth in streams and harden again when the heat of the conflagration dies down (cf. Lucretius V 1241ff.). From the example so provided men learnt the art of metalworking; from other examples men learnt other crafts. The digression on writing and prophecy is occasioned by a reference to Noah's prophetic powers.[151] In both passages the poet presents a Christian view of human evolution, a counterpart to the pagan philosophical tradition that is represented, for instance, by the conclusion of the fifth book of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. Poetic theory of late antiquity was inclined to see the irrelevance of digressions to their larger context as a positive advantage; the reader was thereby granted a pleasurable respite from the subject at issue.[152] This is not Claudius Marius Victorius' practice. Both digressions are thematically relevant; they contribute to his overriding theme, the evolution of human society, and to his reformulation of the biblical narrative as Lucretian didactic.

Digressions may be classified by their content into three types: descriptive (i.e. ecphrasis), narrative, and argumentative (including the ethical and exegetical). The types naturally overlap, but normally in every digression one style predominates. Thus in the *Alethia* the first passage (II 90-196) is primarily narrative, the second primarily argumentative. The *S.H.G.* contains a number of argumentative digressions, derived from Christian exegetical tradition: human interest in prophecy, astrology and magic is attributed to a perverse desire to know what is secret (the same motive that prompted Eve to taste the apple), II 277-325;[153] warfare and all other forms of violent

transition from a digression back to the narrative (ἄφοδος); cf. Quintilian IX 3,87: *adhuc erunt qui putant esse figuram ... 'longius evectus sum, sed redeo ad propositum'* (ἄφοδον [sc. *vocant*]). The first is presented as a continuation of the narrative. Though a departure from the biblical text, viewed within the context of the *Alethia*, it is not strictly a digression.

[151] On the first digression see Maurer (above, ch.4, n.128), pp.12-14, Gamber (above, ch.4, n.137), pp.146-47; on the sources of the second digression see Maurer, p.15, Ferrari (above, ch.4, n.14), pp.60-62. For Noah as a prophet see Lewis (above, ch.4, n.161), p.57, n.9.

[152] See the passage from Sidonius quoted above, n.148.

[153] Cf. Gamber (above, ch.4, n.137), pp.64-67 (who compares Claudius Marius Victorius, *Alethia* III 139-48), Vinay (above, ch.4, n.155), p.450, and Roncoroni, 'L'epica biblica' (above, ch.4, n.159), pp.314-15.

dispute were introduced into the world with the Fall and expulsion from Paradise, III 333-61;[154] the Greek myths of Deucalion (IV 3-10) and a race of giants (IV 88-122) are criticized as distortions of the biblical truth.[155] The last case is of particular interest because of the strong narrative element it contains. An extensive version of the tower of Babel story (Gen. 11,3-9; IV 115-28) is incorporated into the polemic against pagan mythology. The myth that giants piled up mountains to challenge heaven is actually in Avitus' opinion a falsified version of the biblical story. This combination of narrative and argumentation is characteristic of digressions in the *S.H.G.* They often contain Genesis episodes[156] which have been excluded from the primary narrative as irrelevant to the poet's central soteriological theme. Thus God prophesies that the murder of Abel will be one consequence of the Fall and expulsion from Paradise (III 177-89) and Ham's insult to his father Noah is said (IV 406-17; Gen. 9,25-27) to be responsible for the introduction of slavery into the world. Three digressions which have a large narrative element (II 326-407, Lot's wife; III 220-310, Dives and Lazarus; and IV 358-90, Jonah and the inhabitants of Nineveh) are the subject of the poet's special attention. Though apparently only superficially connected with the primary narrative, they nevertheless play a significant part in the composition of the *S.H.G.*

[154] The passage is similar in content to *Alethia* II 240-52, although Claudius Marius Victorius makes no explicit reference to contemporary conditions. Claudius Marius Victorius attributes the origin of warfare to the murder of Abel, Avitus speaks of it more generally as a consequence of the Fall and expulsion from Paradise, of which Abel's murder is also a consequence (III 177-89). Cf. Dracontius, *Laudes Dei* II 303-305, on the relationship between Abel's murder and the origin of warfare.

[155] The comparison of Noah with Deucalion was a commonplace of Christian exegesis; see Rahner (above, ch.4, n.161), pp.141-42, Lewis (above, ch.4, n.161), pp.106-108.

[156] The New Testament parables quoted in the prayer that ends book III (362-425) to justify a plea for Christ's protection constitute an exception. They are cited in the manner of the mixed or impure allegory (cf. above, p.163). Thus, to take one instance, in the parable of the good Samaritan the biblical text (Lk 10,33-34), *Samaritanus autem quidam iter faciens, venit secus eum: et videns eum, misericordia motus est. et ... imponens illum in iumentum suum, duxit in stabulum*, becomes:

> *Sed tu, sancte*, viam sumpto dum *corpore* curris,
> invenis adlisum nec praeteris: insuper aegrum
> iumento *carnis propriae* sub tecta reportas. (III 399-401)

Secondary biblical paraphrases are often parts of hymns or prayers (cf. *Hept. D* 15-47, Sedulius, *C.P.* I 60-241 and the fifth-century poem *De martyrio Maccabeorum* 302-38). On this procedure see Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.134-35. The only secondary biblical paraphrase in the *Alethia* is contained in Abraham's vision (III 523-20 – an example of *percursio*).

The episode of Lot's wife and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (II 326-407) begins with a remark *in propria persona* (327, *dicam nunc aliam*) which indicates that the passage is to be thought of as a digression. Such secondary paraphrases may have been among the passages Avitus had in mind when he referred to digressions in the prologue to Apollinaris (201.14 Peiper).[157] The relevance of the story of Lot's wife to the biblical narrative is that, like Eve, Lot's wife succumbed to temptation (II 326-28, 373-77; Eve is described as a *scrutatrix . . . malorum*, II 326).[158] But the episode offers a contrast as well as a similarity to the story of the Fall; Lot, unlike Adam, avoided the fate of his wife (II 328, 400-407). Book II of the *S.H.G.* is largely concerned with the conflict between Eve and the serpent. Adam plays only a minor role. It is, therefore, natural that the secondary narrative should centre on a woman, Lot's wife. But by drawing attention to the contrast between the situations of Adam and Lot, the poet prepares the reader for the third book and the restoration of the narrative equilibrium between the first parents. Moreover, the question of Adam's culpability is raised in book III. Adam himself is inclined to place the blame exclusively on Eve (III 90-107). In the light of the story of Lot and his wife, the reader is unlikely to accept Adam's claim, even if the poet credits Lot's resistance to the fact that his wife was not able to tell him what she had seen (II 402-405). The story of Lot's wife is not just a loosely integrated decoration but fulfils an important structural function in the *S.H.G.* It directs the reader's attention from the story of Eve's temptation, the subject of book II, to the question of the culpability of the first parents, and particularly of Adam, an important theme of book III.

The second passage, Dives and Lazarus (III 220-310), is

[157] Taking this statement as point of departure, scholars have sought to analyze Avitus' procedures of amplification and digression. The most systematic study is by Roncoroni, 'L'epica biblica' (above, ch.4, n.159). He divides (pp.304-306) the *S.H.G.* into four categories: i) amplifications of minor details of the biblical text; ii) extensive imaginative developments not sanctioned by the original; iii) didactic passages, and iv) narrative passages in which no particular detail of the original is emphasized. Categories i)-iii) are taken over from an article by Watson Kirkconnell, 'Avitus' Epic on the Fall', *Laval théologique et philosophique* 3 (1947), pp.225-26. The fourth category is Roncoroni's own and covers all passages that do not involve extensive elaboration of the original. It is something of a catch-all group and includes passages that follow the biblical text closely, passages that abbreviate the biblical narrative, and passages that employ transition to reorder the narrative. Roncoroni's analysis reveals a tendency towards narrative and away from interpretation in the last two books (pp.325-27), but the categories he uses are not precise enough to permit more detailed conclusions.

[158] Prudentius (*Ham.* 741-42) draws the parallel between Lot's wife and Eve.

introduced as an example of belated repentance (III 209-19). The rich man regrets his conduct in life only when he finds himself in Hell; Adam realizes what he has lost when he is expelled from Paradise, itself a kind of death (*olim defuncti perterret nuntius Adam*, III 308). The parallelism between the life of the rich man on earth and Adam's life in Paradise is emphasized by the description of the rich man's table (III 222-32).[159] The rich man has at his disposal all the resources of the world (III 225). The description recalls the traditional picture of Paradise as uniting in one place all the delights the world has to offer.[160] But the story of Dives and Lazarus does not simply recapitulate Adam's expulsion from Paradise. The passage ends with the poet's exhortation to his readers to learn from the mistakes of the rich man and Adam and to repent in this life, while there is still time (III 306-10). The figure of Lazarus shows that such Redemption is possible; that whatever suffering a person experiences in this world, it is compensated for in the next. This message is developed in the rest of book III. The poet elaborates on the evils introduced into the world by the Fall (III 311-61), with particular reference to conditions in his own day; but the book ends with a prayer to Christ for Redemption and restoration to that Paradise from which the Devil's scheming expelled mankind:

> livida quos hostis paradiso depulit ira,
> fortior antiquae reddat tua gratia sedi. (III 424-25)

Christian Salvation is also the subject of books IV and V. Both represent allegorically a Christian community (Noah and his family; Moses and the Israelites) overcoming the evils of the world (the race of giants; Pharaoh and the Egyptians) and emerging into a happier life by a rite of baptism. The story of Dives and Lazarus provides a bridge between books I-III, which culminate in the expulsion from Paradise, and the final two books, which describe how Paradise may be regained.

The third narrative digression, Jonah and the inhabitants of Nineveh (IV 358-90), is shorter and of less structural significance

[159] The passage owes much of its detail to Sidonius, *Ep.* II 13,7 (cf. Peiper, *Index scriptorum*, p.304, *ad loc.*). The fact need not detract from my argument, however. There is no reason to suppose that Avitus was unaware of the parallelism between the table he describes and the riches of Paradise. The idea that the rich man enjoyed the produce of all the world (III 225 and 230) is an addition of the poet's, not in his model Sidonius.

[160] Cf. *Alethia* I 237-44 (esp. 243-44; above, p.211). For cinnamon, balsam and other scents (*S.H.G.* III 228-29) see Avitus' own description of Paradise (I 239-50).

than the previous examples. But it does serve to concentrate attention on an important aspect of the primary narrative, the corruption of the antediluvian generation. As in the case of the story of Lot's wife, the relationship of the secondary to the primary narrative depends on similarity and contrast: Jonah, like Noah, brought news of an imminent disaster and urged repentance before it was too late; but the Ninevites responded to the warning, Noah's generation ignored it.[161] The distinction amplifies the wickedness of the inhabitants of the earth before the Flood. But it also points to the possibility of Salvation through God's mercy, a possibility which is reasserted as a promise at the conclusion of the Flood story (cf. IV 388-94 and 636ff.).

As in so much else, in his handling of digressions Avitus betrays his debt to the *Alethia*. In the *S.H.G.*, as in the earlier poem, digressions contribute to rather than detract from the thematic unity of the whole. Even the choice of content reveals the influence of Avitus' predecessor. With the significant exception of the Abraham episodes, all the major episodes of the *Alethia* excluded from the primary narrative of the *S.H.G.* are reincorporated by means of secondary paraphrases. The *S.H.G.* marks the culmination of that process of reformulation of the *narratio* which characterizes the Old Testament epic. The poem employs many traditional paraphrastic techniques. But in the observance of strict selective and structural principles, and in his breadth of poetic conception, Avitus was able to compose a work which, as scholars rightly observe,[162] transcends the paraphrase and succeeds as an imaginative work of literature in its own right.

[161] A secondary parallel between the whale's belly and the ark is alluded to, but not developed (*ventris ... arca*, IV 363).

[162] Cf. above, ch.4, n.163.

7

CONCLUSION

The rhetorically developed paraphrase was in origin a school exercise. But it was also a procedure that could be adapted to the composition of larger works of literature, intended for dissemination in the educated community. In such cases the distinction between paraphrase and independent work of literature is not easily drawn. The most promising criterion is the demand that the paraphrase retain the sense of the original; that the paraphrase and the original be coextensive. We have seen that the notion of fidelity permitted a good deal of freedom in abbreviation and amplification. But the aspiration to present some sort of version of the original text is crucial to the paraphrastic intent. It is in this respect that Avitus differs from his predecessors in the Old Testament paraphrase and from the New Testament poets. For the first time the whole adds up to something more than the sum of the biblical parts; in Herzog's terminology the *De Spiritalis Historiae Gestis* is a paraphrastic epic, not an epic paraphrase.[1]

The concept of fidelity in paraphrastic theory was complemented by the principle of *aemulatio*, the impulse to improve the original. The tendency of such improvements in the New Testament tradition was towards the exegetical reinforcement of the text, in the Old Testament poets towards literary entertainment (especially in the *Heptateuchos*) and moral edification, and in the case of the *Alethia* Christian didactic. At the same time, the poets improve their text by bringing it into conformity with the stylistic preferences and

[1] *Bibelepik*, pp.90-92. Herzog is contrasting Juvencus with Virgil and Silius Italicus in their use of paraphrastic techniques.

poetic canons of excellence of late antiquity. Stylistic improvement as an end in itself[2] is most evident in Juvencus, who writes before the predominance of Christianity in the Roman world, when the humble style of the Scriptures still presented a barrier to the spread of Christianity among the educated classes.

The large part played by the schools of rhetoric in the formation of the culture of antiquity is well known. The biblical poets' reliance on the paraphrase and its techniques is one aspect of this influence. In the case of poetry the *enarratio* of the pagan poets, especially Virgil, by the *grammaticus* must also have contributed largely to contemporary literary taste. As demonstrated in the last chapter, the biblical poets are not immune to the prevailing critical standards of late antiquity. Nevertheless, it would naturally be expected that the poets' Christian subject matter would colour their aesthetic presuppositions. Unfortunately, it is notoriously difficult to isolate what is specifically Christian in their aesthetic. Concentration on the individual episode (in the New Testament tradition), melodramatic enhancement of the conflict between good and evil, heightened emotional contrast (especially between joy and grief) – all can be paralleled in fourth-century pagan authors.[3] Christian piety blends easily into the imaginative world of late antiquity. It is, as we have seen, in their handling of narrative that the biblical poets are most in conflict with the norms of pagan epic. The Christian poet's intimate involvement with the message of the Scriptures is very different from the pagan poet's relationship to his subject matter. In the New Testament poetry the thoughts and emotions evoked by the biblical original increasingly break through the narrative in the form of lyric hymns of praise to God, passages of polemic or apologetic, moral instruction or protreptic and allegorical exegesis of the text.[4] Under this pressure the continuous narrative of epic is resolved into a series of discrete episodes, dictated by the poet's participation in the message he is proclaiming. The technique is similar to, and no doubt

[2] According to paraphrastic theory all improvements introduced into the original were matters of *elocutio*, not *inventio*. Typically, however, in the biblical poetry alterations serve to reinforce the Christian content of the original. In Juvencus' case improvements often seem designed only to enhance the literary quality of the biblical text.

[3] For such melodrama and heightened emotional tone in Ammianus see Fontaine, 'Unité' (above, ch.6, n.113), pp.457 and 468.

[4] On this medley of tones as characteristic of Christian poetry see Jacques Fontaine, 'Le mélange des genres dans la poésie de Prudence', in *Forma Futuri: Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin: Erasmo, 1975), pp.770-73.

informed by, the precepts for the construction of the rhetorical *narratio*. But there is no mistaking the distinctively Christian motives for the deformation of the Virgilian model and the disruption of the unified tone appropriate to epic.

In the Old Testament epic of Claudius Marius Victorius and Avitus it is not unusual, though certainly not typical, for the poet to voice a reaction to the biblical narrative. But there is nothing comparable to the tendency of the New Testament poets to resolve the narrative into disparate episodes. This may be explained in part at least by the influence of typological exegesis of the Old Testament.[5] By emphasizing that the events of Genesis and Exodus were part of a larger plan of Salvation, only to be fulfilled by the events of the New Testament, such exegesis encouraged a synoptic view of the Old Testament narrative in which individual events were only intelligible as part of a larger pattern and could not be treated in isolation. This attitude to the biblical text inevitably fostered unity of narrative. At the same time, the Old Testament poets' use of typology as an ordering principle was not entirely without a precedent in Virgilian epic. An analogy may be drawn with the large role played by prophetic allegory in the *Aeneid*, and it is not impossible that Avitus at least was conscious of the parallel.[6] Certainly one characteristic of the *S.H.G.* is an enhanced observance of the epic model.[7] Yet typological exegesis also insisted on the historical reality of the Old Testament events. This, too, finds its reflection in the Old Testament poetry. For the most part the narrative is intelligible at the literal level, and does not absolutely require an allegorical interpretation, although often the language is only fully understood with such a sense in mind. In this way the Old Testament poetry, too,

[5] For the nature of such typological exegesis see Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in *Neue Dantestudien*, Istanbuler Schriften 5 (Istanbul: Horoz, 1944), pp.11-71. It is interesting that the typological interpretation of the Old Testament promoted unity of narrative, whereas the figural interpretation of events of the Gospels and Acts, lacking the unifying soteriological framework, reinforced the tendency to fragmentation of the narrative (cf. above, ch.6, n.57).

[6] Georg Nicolaus Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer: Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils mit Listen der Homerzitate in der Aeneis*, Hypomnemata 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964), pp.345-59, sees a parallel between Virgil's use of Homer and the relationship of the New to the Old Testament in Christian exegesis. This would not, of course, be evident to Avitus, but the strong allegorical colouring of the *Aeneid* could have been observed by him. The poets show a similar attitude to the historical event.

[7] Cf. Evans (above, ch.5, n.61), pp.132-33, who speaks of Avitus' "self-conscious attempt to achieve epic dignity and complexity."

arrived at a distinctively Christian synthesis of narrative and interpretation, a synthesis which reflects the compromise between literal sense and allegory arrived at in Christian exegesis.[8]

In the matter of style Christian poetry has much in common with contemporary secular literature. It was, however, insulated from the worst effects of late antique preciosity by its insistence on the moral purpose of poetry, that is, in the language of rhetoric, on *utilitas*. One aspect of *utilitas* has been described in the previous chapter in reference to the New Testament paraphrase. In a speech of persuasion, *utilitas* is the principle of relevance, governing the selection of details for inclusion in the *narratio*; the details must contribute to the speaker's case. But the *utile* also has a place in classical poetics, as witnessed by Horace's *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit* utile *dulci, / lectorem delectando pariterque monendo* (*Ars Poetica* 343-44). The debate on the moral value of poetry goes back to the Hellenistic period, when some maintained that the sole purpose of poetry was to entertain.[9] The secular poetry of late antiquity was very much inclined to emphasize the *dulce* at the expense of the *utile*: technical virtuosity and formal elaboration at the expense of seriousness of content. By contrast the Christian poet, because of his commitment to his subject, could not but give priority to *utilitas*. Whether through the rhetorical techniques of persuasion, as in the New Testament epic, or by the more indirect and more typically poetic means of characterization and ethical *parti-pris*, as in the Old Testament tradition, the Christian poet inevitably sought the moral improvement of his reader. The prevailing Alexandrianism of late antiquity[10] was thus moderated in the direction of Horatian classicism. By subordinating the charm of verse to its moral content in this way the Christian poets conformed to Augustine's precepts for

[8] Typically the conflict between narrative and interpretation is responsible for the distinctive quality of Christian poetry on epic models. Kirsch (above, ch.6, n.58), pp.49-50, has some interesting remarks on the handling of narrative in the biblical epic of late antiquity, although he does not do justice to Avitus' unified poetic conception (cf. pp.40, n.10, and 41). The problem extends to biblical poetry in the vernacular. See, for instance, the title of Donald A. McKenzie's study of the ninth-century Old High German Gospel poem of Otfrid von Weissenburg, *Otfrid von Weissenburg, Narrator or Commentator? A Comparative Study* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1946).

[9] Cf. J.F. D'Alton, *Roman Literary Theory and Criticism: A Study in Tendencies* (London: Longmans, 1931), pp.483-91, and Koster (above, ch.4, n.41), pp.143-51.

[10] Cf. Loyen (above, ch.4, n.47), pp.xi-xiii, and Fontaine, 'Mélange' (above, n.4), on the difference between Ausonius and Prudentius. Fontaine remarks (p.768): "Les desseins poétiques des deux hommes s'opposent en fait comme le divertissement et la conversion."

Christian prose in the *De Doctrina Christiana* (IV 25,55). Of the three traditional duties of the orator, to teach, to delight, and to move, only the first and third were appropriate to the Christian preacher. To give pleasure was not an end in itself, but only legitimate in the larger interests of persuasion. Sedulius' estimate of the value of *poeticae deliciae et carminum voluptates* (5.5-6) is quite consistent with Augustine's theory:[11] Sedulius intends to use the charm of poetry to preach the Christian faith (5.13 - 6.1).

For all that, poetic charm remains indispensable to the Christian poets' purpose. References to the delight given by poetry are no doubt conventional, but the delight was nonetheless genuinely felt by the educated reader of late antiquity. A taste for poetry was inculcated at an early age in the schools of the *grammatici* and often stayed with a student all his life. We may suspect, however, that the charm of poetry was felt most strongly by the young. This may explain why Claudius Marius Victorius (*Prec.* 104-105) intended his poem for young readers; he knew that at that age poetry was likely to have a special appeal. The biblical poets were certainly aware of the potentialities of their works for popularizing the Christian message. Juvencus might hope to appeal to educated non-Christians, at a time when the Empire had just become Christian, by recasting the Gospels in a form that appealed to contemporary taste. For later poets the metrical form given to the biblical message was calculated to appeal to those Christians whose sense of style was sometimes in conflict with their Christian piety.

The charm of poetry was largely inherent in its language. Hence the frequent appropriation of the language of pagan epic by Christian poets. But during the course of the two centuries of biblical epic a further tendency is observable. Christian writers begin to develop their own poetic idiom, formed after the criteria of pagan epic, but of specifically Christian content. Tropes characterize the new idiom as they did the old. Periphrases are developed for Christian concepts and recurrent events, and the poetic vocabulary is enhanced by the use of symbolic language, allegory and catachresis. A tradition begins to be built up in the New and Old Testament epic. Later poets imitate and seek to improve on their predecessors in

[11] As Herzog notes (*Bibelepik*, p.178, n.58). His 'Exegese–Erbauung–*Delectatio*: Beiträge zu einer christlichen Poetik der Spätantike', in Walter Haug (ed.), *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie: Symposion Wolfenbüttel 1978*, Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände 3 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979), pp.52-69, has much of interest to say on the place of *delectatio* in Christian poetics.

biblical poetry. Continuity is evident in both the New and Old Testament traditions. A poetic language was being formed, which, though Virgilian in inspiration, reflected the Christian beliefs and aspirations of its practitioners. By the time of Arator the synthesis of Christian and classical that is one of the most important achievements of late antique culture was an accomplished fact. Arator ends both books of the *H.A.* with passages in praise of the city of Rome; both emphasize Peter's primacy over the apostles and his leadership of the Christian Church. Plainly, Arator was aware of the relevance of the narrative of Acts to the situation of Rome and the papacy of his own day. The exploitation of the biblical narrative for purposes of contemporary propaganda presupposes a thoroughly Christianized society and one in which the old suspicion of the pagan literary tradition had entirely evaporated. The gap between the two cultures was now closed.[12] Arator's own career demonstrates that talents acquired in a traditional literary education were prized equally in the secular and religious spheres. The position of Christianity in the Roman world had changed greatly since Juvencus' day. A new culture was in the process of emerging from the old. The history of the biblical epic from Juvencus to Arator reflects something of the dialogue from which this new culture evolved.

It is no accident that the biblical epic, and the New Testament epic in particular, enjoyed great popularity in the early Middle Ages (only Avitus of the Old Testament poets seems to have been well known).[13] The combination of Christian and classical was much to the taste of the period. Sedulius' innovation of the double work was

[12] Arator no longer feels bound to apologize for embodying his Christian message in pagan literary forms. He employs the traditional antithesis between the lies of pagan poetry and the truth of the Christian message (*ad Parth.* 42-43, 51; *ad Vig.* 20), but it has long since lost any polemic intent; cf. Thraede, 'Arator' (above, ch.4, n.96), pp.189-90, and Homeyer (above, ch.4, n.58), p.143.

A further symptom of this relaxed attitude to the pagan literary tradition is the conflation of pagan *topoi* and Christian imagery in the polite rhetorical formulae of Arator's three dedicatory letters. Schlieben (above, ch.4, n.24), pp.101-102 and 104-105, sees a similar correlation with contemporary society in Cassiodorus' conflation of theology and rhetoric in his Psalm commentary. It is interesting that Avitus, the only one of the biblical poets to hold high ecclesiastical position, as bishop of Vienne, shows himself the most conservative in his use of terminology that recalls the mythological content of pagan epic (e.g. *Tonans*; cf. Roberts [above, ch.4, n.42], pp.399-407).

[13] The three New Testament poets and Avitus made up the canon of biblical poetry for the Middle Ages (Peiper, prooemium to his edition, pp.lxiii-lxxvi, Herzog, *Bibelepik*, pp.xix-xxiii), although Avitus does not seem to have been as influential as the other three poets.

to enjoy a vogue among Anglo-Latin authors.[14] In style the biblical epic corresponds closely to the precepts contained in the medieval *Artes Poeticae* collected by Faral, especially to their characteristic doctrine of *amplificatio*.[15] Nor was the influence of biblical epic limited to works in Latin. Biblical poetry was written both in Old English and Old High German in the early Middle Ages. Knowledge and imitation of their Latin predecessors has been claimed for the writers of *Genesis A*, *Genesis B* and *Exodus*, but the evidence so far presented seems inconclusive.[16] We are on firmer ground with the Old High German *Liber Evangeliorum* of Otfrid von Weissenburg (mid-ninth century). Otfrid appeals to the examples of Juvencus and Arator in his prefatory letter to Luitbert, Archbishop of Mainz, written in Latin prose. The extent of the influence the Latin poets had on Otfrid is questionable, but at the very least they provided a sanction for his own undertaking.[17]

Of the biblical poets of late antiquity it is Avitus who corresponds most closely to the norms of the epic genre. His constant awareness of the wider spiritual significance underlying his narrative lends the *S.H.G.* an expansiveness of horizon that transcends the individual event and gives the poem the quality of a universal history of humanity.[18] Nor does the *S.H.G.* lack an epic hero. That hero is man, embodied in the three biblical characters Adam, Noah and Moses, and transfigured by their scriptural fulfilment in the life of Christ, to which the poet's gaze is constantly directed. The first line of the *S.H.G.* establishes the centrality of man: *quidquid agit varios humana*

[14] Cf. Luitpold Wallach, 'Onulf of Speyer: A Humanist of the Eleventh Century', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950), pp.35-36, and the studies of Peter Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *Opus Geminatum* from Aldhelm to Alcuin', *Medium Aevum* 50 (1981), pp.215-29, and *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), pp.lxxviii-lxxxviii, who cites further literature.

[15] Edmond Faral (above, ch.6, n.140). The origin of the medieval theories of *amplificatio* and *abbreviatio* is controversial, though they are generally thought to go back to late antiquity (cf. above, ch.5, nn.128 and 129, and the passages there cited; also Brinkmann [above, ch.6, n.142], pp. 47-54). One possibility not to my knowledge previously canvassed is that the doctrine derives from paraphrastic theory, developed in connection with the rhetorical exercises of the schools and perhaps incorporated in a now lost progymnasmatic work (for the likelihood of such a tradition in late antiquity see above, pp.140-41). It is surely significant that Quintilian uses the verbs *breviare* and *augere* (a functional synonym of *amplificare*) of the paraphrase.

[16] Kartschoke (above, ch.4, n.2), pp.213-18, assesses the evidence.

[17] Ibid., pp.290-93, and for a fuller discussion Heinz Rupp, 'Otfrid von Weissenburg und die spätantike Bibeldichtung', *Wirkendes Wort* 7 (1956-57), pp.334-43.

[18] For the characteristic expansiveness of epic see Greene (above, ch.6, n.38), pp.9-12.

in gente labores (which recalls Juvenal 1,85, *quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptates / ... nostri farrago libelli est*, also a programmatic passage).[19] But Avitus' poem differs from secular epic in its unabashedly optimistic tone. Whereas the epic hero traditionally comes to recognize his own humanity and mortality and comes to terms with the conditions of his existence,[20] the hero of the *S.H.G.* is able to transcend that mortality. The poem ends on a triumph, of the people of God over Pharaoh, the Prince of Darkness, and his minions.[21] In a movement that is typical of biblical poetry – we have observed it on a smaller scale in the individual episodes of the New Testament epic – the narrative moves from grief (after the Fall) to joy at man's promised restoration to his lost Paradise. The final note is one of unqualified rejoicing, the melodramatic victory of good over evil rather than the elegiac ambiguity of much secular epic.

[19] Avitus does not go on to announce in so many words that man will be his subject, but that is the implication of the imitation of Juvenal. The Juvenal passage is also imitated by Prudentius, *Ham.* 250-51 and 763-64.

[20] Cf. Greene (above, ch.6, n.38), pp.13-19. The Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh is an early example of this pattern.

[21] The contest of book V can also be seen as a battle for the human soul. I am tempted to describe the book as Avitus' *Psychomachia*. The poet expresses his admiration for Prudentius' poem in his *De Virginitate* (370-72). In general, Avitus seems the most conscious of the biblical poets of the work of earlier Christian poets and benefits from their example, both in what to imitate and what to avoid. See now Roberts, 'Rhetoric and Poetic Imitation' (above, ch.6, n.137).

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